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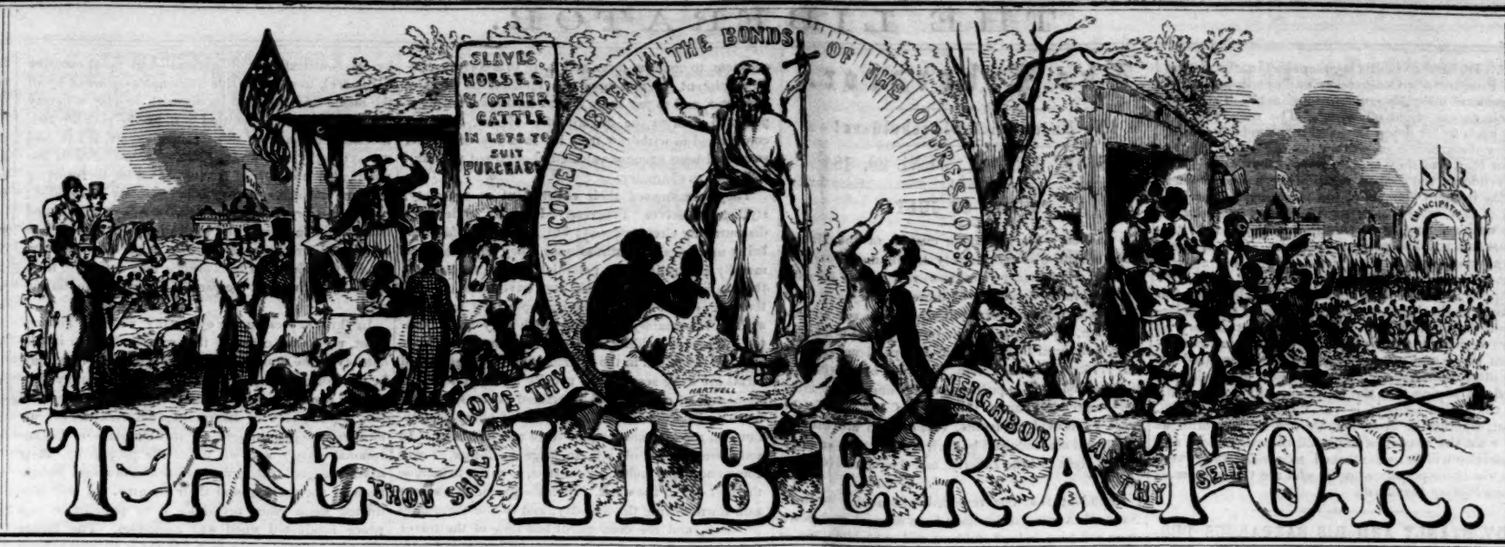
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSED
HARTWELL
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
MUNICIPATION
THE LIBERATOR.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

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Refuge of Oppression.

THE COURIER ON THE ANXIOUS SEAT.

It is only too apparent that the mind of this great nation is in danger of becoming confused about the objects and means of the terrible conflict by which it is convulsed. Confusion of mind can in no case be the legitimate source of wholesome results; in the matter in hand, it is easy to see that it can lead only to ruin. It is indispensable to our final safety that we should carefully observe the distinction between a war and the suppression of rebellion. Victory in war confers upon the conqueror the ordinary rights over the vanquished recognized among civilized men. These rights have become gradually reduced in number and degree by the progress of civilization, so that, excluding, as a general rule, interference with individual safety or the claims of private property, they ordinarily amount to no more than the submission of the subdued State to the authority and general laws of the dominant power.

In a civil struggle to overcome rebellion, it is obvious that nothing more can be rightfully demanded. The conquest in such a case consists only of the reduction of the insurgent citizens to their normal condition of obedience. They are a part of the whole. They are limbs of the body politic. When the disorder is cured, they remain members with the ordinary functions of members as before. The distinction is one which has always been made by the Administration, in stating its policy, however it may have sometimes deviated from it, at the claims of instant necessity, or otherwise. In pursuing our national object, which is the restoration of the Union of the States, it is necessary for us carefully to observe this distinction. There is a class among us which demands far more against our insurgent fellow-countrymen, than the most imperious conqueror would exact of national enemies defeated by him in war. They claim that the hereditary domestic institutions of the people of half the country shall be completely changed, as the forfeiture of rebellion. Singularly enough, these same men have been for years actively engaged in that sort of interference with those domestic institutions which has finally stirred up the rebellion; and yet they now claim that this loss of property and civil rights shall fall upon those who have thus become infuriated through their agency. We propose this argument in no sense to justify the inexcusable conduct of the South. It might have safely despised a sort of fanaticism which had been hurtful and was justly offensive, but which would have been crushed and become comparatively harmless in a short time, by the counder political action of the North. It was this result which the Southern conspirators dreaded and anticipated.

The fanatics, however, have taken advantage of the existing conflict to push their long-cherished projects to the extreme verge. Throughout the whole course of a contest, which but for them might have been brought to a speedy and peaceable end long ago, they have insisted upon making the abolition of slavery the object and end of the "war." They have done more. By every art, means and influence at their command, they have incessantly sought to prevent the cessation of the conflict and restoration of the Union, except upon their own terms of emancipation, which would render Union impossible. Their agents and sympathizers in Congress, in every direct and indirect way, have pressed this point in the two houses and upon the Executive authority. The Emancipation League, which took its start in this city, has now perfected its organization in New York, and has laid down its platform of unconditional abolition of slavery. The voice from that platform speaks to the people of this country like the sound of a trumpet—and it warns them, that they must either find means to put a stop to the proceedings of confessed disunionists and traitors among themselves, at the North, or they must give up all hope of ever again seeing a united country.

The conflict for the Union began with divided opinions and feelings in both sections of it. The North, in general, scarcely imagining the possibility of an armed assault upon the integrity of the Union, rose, under the strongest impulse of patriotism, when the blow was struck, and rushed to the defence of the national honor and the protection of the public safety. Among the loudest professors of Unionism, then, were the very men who are now insisting upon "abolition, which is dissolution." They have at length been able to bring about a united South, by the pursuit of their infamous schemes, and another result will follow in the farther pursuit of those schemes—a widely divided North. On the one side will be those who mean steadfastly and sternly to maintain the Union under the Constitution—on the other, the emancipation conspirators, who would destroy the Union by breaking the Constitution down. Whatever the consequences may be, upon the heads of those traitors will be the responsibility. The veil of sophistications, by which the true friends of the Union were made to appear as "sympathizers with secession," is now drawn aside. They never were sympathizers with secession—but they distrusted and deprecated public confidence in these false brawlers for Union, who have since so plainly shown themselves in their true colors as its worst enemies. If they prevail in carrying public sentiment at the North with them, the cause of the Union is lost forever—or it can never be regained, until the tide of battle is turned against these "aiders and abettors of the Confederates," and they are overwhelmed, never to rise again.—*Boston Courier.*

THE COURIER THE NEGRO'S FRIEND.

The *Tribune's* affected sarcasm upon the *Courier*, because it does not see the wisdom of building up a wall against the re-establishment of the authority of the Federal Government in North Carolina, by violating the statutes and offending the prejudices, if you will, of the whole people of that State, would be more effective, if it were more fair. We are not concerned on the subject of negro education," but we would not impede or imperil the cause of the Union in North Carolina by insisting upon the instruction of half a dozen hundred negroes in their A-B-C's, contrary to the laws of the State and the wishes of the people. The good to be accomplished, in those parts, seems to us small, if any; while the evil throughout the whole slave territory, by exciting universal indignation and bitterness, is readily to be appreciated. On the contrary, we are very glad to have the negro taught up to his capacity, in the free States: and in the slave States, also, if the people there, whose immediate concern it is, have no objection. In fact, we have always been the true friends of the colored race, and would do everything in reason to make their natural condition as little irksome to them as possible—while we look upon the *Tribune* and the whole abolition set as their worst enemies. And a great many of the more intelligent among our colored brethren agree with us, we know, in both particulars. They are far from imputing the most disinterested motives to those most loudly brawling in their behalf.

The *Tribune* declares that we "proclaim the effort to cast a ray of light upon the moral gloom of an oppressed and unhappy race a 'hateful scheme.'" But we did nothing of the sort. We said—"You might as well attempt to grow roses on an iceberg, as to attempt to awaken loyalty in North Carolina, or any other slave State, if you try *to force the hateful schemes of Northern radicals upon them.*" It was not "a ray of light" for the negro to which we objected, but to the impertinent, intrusive, offensive, persistent, *hateful*, disunion schemes of Northern radicals, in whatever shape they might be presented, so as to make the white citizens of one part of the country more irreconcilably hostile to those of the other part. The "moral gloom" is moonshine.

The negroes are a religious race, but we fear their morals have not been much improved by recent experiences. "Oppressed and unhappy" is sentimental. They show no disposition to relieve themselves of "oppression," under which they live at ease, and generally rule their owners—and they are notoriously the happiest race of people in the world.—*Boston Courier.*

APPEALS TO SYMPATHY.

Appeals to sympathy are not arguments. The radical presses have made strong efforts in this way to rouse sympathy in favor of negro schools in North Carolina. Probably no man could be found at the North, who would not, if it were a matter with which he had anything to do, vote for the education of the negro in the South. But however strong our desires may be on such subjects, right, justice and law are above sympathies. We read daily of atrocities in England which make our hearts ache. Here is a paragraph which we find in the *Albion*:—

THE EXODUS FROM THE QUEEN'S BENCH PRISON. The work of clearing the Queen's Bench Prison of its inhabitants is now verging towards a close. Strange to say, it has been a very difficult task. Many of the prisoners sternly refused to be made bankrupts, though, by giving their consent, they could have immediately obtained their release. The most curious case was that of William Miller, who had been in prison since July, 1814—forty-eight years! He had lost all desire to go out, and would sign nothing which would have the effect of making him a free man. When at length he was absolutely forced to acquiescence, he begged to be allowed to remain in the prison a few days longer; and when his time was up, he still lingered fondly within the gates to bid the officials farewell, and to shake hands over and over again, until he passed the outer gates of the Queen's Bench Prison, a few days since. William Miller, who was born nearly eighty years ago, never saw a street gas-lamp, nor an omnibus, much less a steamship or a railway.—*London Paper, April* 12.

We read it with pain. We are astounded at every new revelation of the results of the British Constitution, in such ways as this. But we have no intention to organize an expedition to tear down the Queen's Bench Prison, or to break up the Court of Queen's Bench. And yet as great an obligation exists to do that, as exists to require us to educate negroes in North Carolina, when the law forbids it. Whatever our sympathies are, if we go to England and endeavor to aid a prisoner for debt in escaping from the prison to which the law of England consigns him, we should deserve the punishment of the law; and the same is true in North Carolina.

Duty overrides sympathy, and the highest moral obligation requires obedience to duty in opposition to the temptations of sympathy. Take the ordinary case of a prisoner unjustly condemned. Knowing the absolute innocence of the man, but unable to bring that knowledge to the mind of a jury, a man's sympathies are strongly excited, but he must not, therefore, aid the condemned to escape. No man has a right to erect the judgment of his own mind above the judgment of the public law. Or take the case of a person convicted of crime, under a law which a man or a class of men regard as an improper law; Sabbath breaking, or selling liquor, or any other of our laws which have such strong opponents. No one is to oppose the operation of a law of this kind, and aid a convicted party in escaping from punishment, because he thinks the law an oppression. In short, duty to the community, which requires a respect for law, is of higher obligation, and ought to command the person with much stronger force, than any motives of sympathy.

In the North Carolina case, it may seem very hard to forbid a negro to learn to read. But that is the law of North Carolina, and we are bound, by higher motives than sympathy for the negro, to uphold obedience to the law. We do not know nor care to ask on what principle the law is founded, or whether the principle is right or wrong. We are not citizens of North Carolina, and have no voice in making or amending this statute. Nay more; if general principles of philanthropy be pleaded as requiring the American Christian or the man to interfere in England with the terrible oppressions of the poor, growing out of the English social system, or with iniquitous imprisonments for debt which are perpetrated there, in the other case, that of North Carolina, we are absolutely pledged by our solemn covenant and oath not to interfere; and the general rule of philanthropy, therefore, must give way to the higher obligation of a constitutional agreement and law.

Whenever, then, any one appeals to the sympathies of the people to induce interference with the slave laws of other States, let the question be at once put, "Do you regard the subject of negro education or the good of the negro, as superior to the obligation of the Constitution and the laws?" If any man so regards it, he is not fit to teach American citizens. The preservation of the Constitution and the Union, for the benefit of the whole race of man, is an object infinitely superior to any questions of temporary good to one race; and the man who pleads Christianity or philanthropy as a reason for giving money to do good to the negro in violation of a law in a Southern State, is advocating the principle of rebellion and treason—for it is neither more nor less.—*New York Journal of Commerce.*

THE RELUCTANT GOVERNOR. Almost every newspaper that I find in the cars and at the hotels has a righteous rebuke in it of the contemptible higgling of Governor Andrew of Massachusetts. One of them recalls, as just in point, a remark of John Quincy Adams in Congress. A member had said that he would not vote for such an appropriation, if the enemy were thundering at the gates of the Capital. To which the "old man eloquent" replied, "There is only one step more for the gentleman to take, and that is to go over to the enemy." So when I read of a Governor who says that his people will respond *reluctantly* to the call of the President, unless his *isms* can be made the basis of operations, I think there is but one step between his position and treason, and that step is short and downwards.—*Editorial Corr. of the New York Observer.*

Selections.

TRAITORS AND THEIR SYMPATHIZERS.

SPEECH OF HON. B. F. WADE.

On the 15th ult., Hon. B. F. Wade, in the United States Senate, delivered a most powerful speech in reply to strictures made by Senator M'Dougal, of California, on the procedure of the Committee on the Conduct of the War. Senator McDougal condemned the imprisonment of Gen. Stone and others, and also denounced the exercise of the power by the Government in arresting and imprisoning persons of disloyal sympathies and proclivities, characterizing it as tyrannical, &c. To this Senator Wade replies:—

We are tyrannical—the nation is tyrannical, says the gentleman; and he quotes authorities from nations at war with each other, where there is no suspicion of treason—where all is loyalty on both sides—where nations have national feelings sufficient to repress everything favoring the adversary, and to bring forward everything favoring their own nation. He cites these precedents to enlighten us in the midst of a civil revolution, where traitors are in our midst, where you cannot walk the streets without meeting men whose hearts are opposed to the prosecution of the war. No, sir; you cannot go through the Executive Departments but you meet with violent enemies of the Government you are endeavoring to maintain. He reads precedents from English history to show the forbearance of that nation in times of civil strife. I wonder that the reading of that did not carry him back to the time when England was involved in civil war. If it had, would he not be astonished at the mildness and forbearance of the Government in the course it has pursued toward these traitors in our midst? Sir, if you look at the old records during those troublous times, you will find that men on slighter evidence than would impeach the gentleman were hung up by the neck until they were dead, and yet he lauds the mildness of the British Government. It is a remarkable fact, and I fear not entirely to our credit either, that while we have been involved in this great rebellion, while this generation are taxed, and future generations will be taxed to the utmost of their capacity to defend themselves, while this ungodly war was waged against the best government on God's earth, and it has cost the most precious blood of this nation to repel the insurrection, after one whole year has passed by, there has not yet been made a single example of treason, not one; no attempt to take the life, nay, even the property, of the hellish traitors that have caused the sacrifice of our dearest and most precious blood.

Sir, the man that invokes the Constitution in forbearance of the law to punish traitors is himself a sympathizer. There never was a man who stood up in this Senate, from the time when Mr. Breckinridge preached daily in favor of constitutional guaranties until now, and set up constitutional barriers against punishment for treason, but that is in his innermost heart of hearts a traitor. I do not want to hear any more of a man than that he is invoking the forbearance of the Constitution, and the great barriers in favor of American liberty, to protect an infernal traitor in his course, to know that he is a sympathizer. Our Administration is assailed, because, not having the technical evidence in their possession to bring a man to trial and judgment of death, they do not let him go at large to plot against the life of the Government.

Mr. President, I have said a great deal more than I intended; but the theme is a very fruitful one. A tyranny exists here, it is said. Sir, is it not manifest to everybody that from the time when this treason broke out, when we had traitors in this Senate proclaiming their treason on this floor, when they conspired to take the life of your President on his way to the capital, when they beset your regiments coming here for no other purpose than to defend your capital, until now every scintilla of information that your Executive has, is communicated to traitors on the other side of the river as soon as it is to people on this side? The Administration have attempted to put that down; they have not succeeded; and yet the Senator stands there, and says you should not arrest a scoundrel when you know his heart is with the enemy, but who meanly skulks from overt acts in their favor; you should not imprison him, you should not restrain him; but you must let it all go, and permit the enemy to be perfectly cognizant of every expedition and of every move you make. I am sorry that the Senator does not remain on this floor, and meet the consequences of his insinuations against the Administration and against the committee.

Sir, it is perfectly manifest that if persons are shut up in dungeons, and restrained of their liberty, it is that the Constitution may live. I know it is not in accordance with the principles of our Constitution. In ordinary times, it could not for a moment be tolerated; but when, with all your caution, and with all this pretended tyranny, you have not been able, as yet, to conceal a knowledge of the most important expeditions of your armies and your intended movements from the enemy as soon as your own people possess it, the man who stands up for a rigid execution of the *habeas corpus* and the law, as in time of peace, is but a sympathizer with them. While I am up, let me say that in times of revolution and rebellion like this, when whole States have come out and proclaimed their intention to destroy the life of our glorious Government, when they have their martial hosts in the field, bent on its destruction, I understand them to be entirely absolved from the protecting ægis of the Constitution. They have struck at your life. They would take your heart's blood. They proclaim themselves ready to do it. And yet, sir, you are to treat them with lenity! Your Constitution prescribes that no man shall be deprived of his life, or despoiled of his goods, without due process of law. It guaranties to every man the right of life, liberty, and property; but are you not compelled to advance into his country with your armies, to plant your cannon, and destroy him by whole armies together? Is that constitutional? My Secession friend, if there is any such here, why do you not invoke the Constitution in opposition to our cannon and our musketry against these rebels? The Constitution protects their rights. You do not invoke it on the battle-field. You do not summon a jury. You do not try him there by jury, as the Constitution says you shall. Why do you not carry your doctrines to their legitimate end? Why stop short? Does the Senator from California pretend that when our hosts march in battle-array, and meet those of the enemy, and it is life against life, we should summon a jury before we begin to shoot, and see whether they had committed actual rebellion? Your Constitution says their lives shall not be taken without due process of law. I ask you, caviler about the Constitution, where is the law for it?

Sir, no jurist yet has had the folly to attempt to limit the powers that a man may use in defence of [illegible] attempt to limit the power that a nation may use when the life of the nation is assailed. There is no limit to it. You have a right to go forward in an individual case in your might, and if your life is sought, any force, any power, anything that you may do honestly in defence of your own life, the law pronounces a justifiable act. So, when the life of the nation is assailed by vile traitors embodied in military array for its destruction, they are beyond all law, they have repudiated all law, and the nation, in defence of its Constitution, its Union, and its flag, may resort to any means that God Almighty has put into their hands honestly to maintain their constitutional rights. I know very well that small lawyers may get up on these great questions of statesmanship and pettifogging as a man would to screen a felon before a justice of the peace, and place his arguments on those narrow principles of constitutional law. He may require all the presumptions of innocence that are so often resorted to to shield a culprit from the punishment of his crime. It is done here. But, sir, the man whose life is assailed does not summon a jury, and the nation whose life is assailed by traitors need not summon a jury. All you want is the power, honestly exercised, to put it down.

Let me say, in passing, that every word and every syllable that the Senator invoked in favor of General Stone might have been just as well, and with more propriety and more strength, urged in favor of Jeff. Davis to-day. He had played a very conspicuous part in Mexico; he had held high offices under your Constitution; and all the arguments that the gentleman resorted to to shield General Stone, would be infinitely stronger in the case of Jeff. Davis to-day. Lucifer was once a bright angel in heaven; but he fell, and he has not been much honored in that quarter since. (Laughter.)

Sir, I am tired of hearing these arguments in favor of traitors. The Constitution takes their lives, their property, their all. Why shall we stop short? Are they not in quest of ours? If there is any stain on the present Administration, it is that they have been weak enough to deal too leniently with these traitors. I know it sprung from goodness of heart; it sprung from the best of motives; but, sir, as a method of putting down this rebellion, mercy to traitors is cruelty to loyal men. Look into the seceded States, and see thousands of loyal men there coerced into their armies to run the hazard of their lives, and placed in the damnable position of perjured traitors by force of arms. If there is a man there bold enough to maintain his integrity in the face of these infernal powers, do they scruple to take his life, his property, his all? Sir, by your merciful course you have paid a premium to treason, and made it almost impossible that a loyal man in the seceded States maintain himself at all. Those States are overrun frequently by lawless bands of rebels, who do not scruple one moment to take their property and their lives, and treat them with every indignity and every cruelty that a perverse ingenuity can invent; but on the other hand, when our armies come along there, they deal quite as leniently with the traitor as with the loyal man. What teaches human nature? A man having solely a regard to his self-interest, living in one of those communities, will undoubtedly reason thus: "I must profess to be a traitor; I must coöperate with them, for if their lawless bands overrun the country I inhabit, if I show any Union sentiment, any love to the old Constitution and the old flag, I shall lose not only my life, but all I possess; while, on the other hand, if the Federal forces overrun the country, they are so lenient that, even professed traitor as I am, they will respect not only my life, but my property, and all I have." Sir, the rule is as impolitic as it is unjust. You should carry the avenging sword along with your armies, and smite traitors and smite treason, and put it down, and yield protection to honest, loyal men. Until you adopt that course, you will war in vain. Mr. President, for one, I say let us go forward against treason and traitors; let us put down this rebellion at all hazards. If, in doing so, your darling institution must go under, I shall not regret it. If it must come to this, that the Union and slavery cannot live together, let slavery die the death; for the Constitution, the Union, and the time honored old flag shall live forever.

Sir, I have been in the Senate for some considerable time, and I should have been an exceedingly dull man if I had not learned the course of defence that is constantly set up here for those who have assailed the institutions of our country. There is an unvarying course of remark that they indulge in, so that no man need be mistaken as to what they intend. Those who assail the Administration on account of what they call tyranny to men sympathizing with traitors, never to my knowledge open their mouths on this floor in condemnation of the men who have risen in arms, and are endeavoring to murder your Constitution and your Government. Toward them they are as mild as sucking doves. You will find one general ear mark among them all, and that is to assail those who are opposed to traitors, and endeavor to bring them to condign punishment; but you will never hear a lisp from one of their mouths in opposition to the men who are now, with arms in their hands, assailing our institutions and our Government. While the Senator, in his long and elaborate speech, has accused everybody else, have you heard a word from his mouth against the men who are now in arms endeavoring to overthrow your Government? Not one syllable. Sir, you may know all these men from these circumstances; they are the men who cry peace, peace, when they know there can be no honorable peace.

Now, let me ask who are these gentlemen that are to reconstruct the Democratic party and the Government? What kind of an alliance is to be formed, and with whom, in this reconstruction? I am sorry I do not see the Senator from California here, because I know, from the position he holds toward those who make these assaults, he would be able to give us light on the subject. I accuse them of a deliberate purpose to assail, through the judicial tribunals, and through the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States, and everywhere else, and to overawe, intimidate and trample under foot, if they can, the men who boldly stand forth in defence of their country, now imperiled by this gigantic rebellion. I have watched it long. I have seen it in secret. I have seen its movements ever since that party got together, with a colleague of mine in the other House as chairman of the committee on resolutions—a man who never had any sympathy with this Republic, but whose every breath is devoted to its destruction, just as far as his heart dare permit him to do.

But, sir, there was salt in the old Democratic party. They do not talk of reconstructing with the followers of Stephen A. Douglas. Mr. Douglas was once a strong partizan of the Democratic faith. He went along with them until he found they were bent upon treason and the destruction of the country in which they lived. The moment Mr. Douglas ascertained that this was their full, deliberate purpose, he came out from among them like an honest man, and became separate, and his honorable followers came along also, and they are coöperating most cordially to-day with the Republican party everywhere. The Senator seeks no reconstruction with the Douglas party, for how could they join in any reconstruction? They would look well coalescing again with the wretches who have persecuted their great and venerable leader to death. How could his disciples form a coalition with those who crucified him; with those reconstructors under the lead of Mr. Vallandigham of the House of Representatives?

The Senator talks about things being done in the dark. I should like to know where this meeting was held for reconstructing and fixing the policy that was to govern the Democratic party in its renovated form. It was some dark purlieu, perhaps, of this Capitol—a fit place for the conspirators who concocted the idea of rising in their places and assaulting the Administration, accusing it of tyranny, and comparing it to an inquisition. Every man of that stamp in the Senate has already risen, and belched forth his anathemas against the Administration of the country, and especially against the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton.

What has he done? The Senator says that he was in the Administration of Mr. Buchanan. That is true. When Mr. Buchanan's Administration became so corrupt with treachery, when it became so well known that it could not hold together any longer, when its rottenness had torn it to pieces and sunk it beneath contempt, it was a necessity that they should call an honest man into their Administration—a man who went unwillingly; a man whose character has always been above reproach; a man who, though of Democratic predilections, had retired from politics; a man whose great mind and clearness of intellect had placed him at the very head of one of the most honorable professions; a man who could command at his will whatever price he asked. He did take it upon himself, at the call of Mr. Buchanan, to take part in his Administration. So far from acting with those corrupt traitors who had broken it down, I say here in my place, and I speak what is known to many Senators, if this nation was saved from utter shipwreck by treachery, Mr. Stanton, in that Administration of Mr. Buchanan, did more to uphold it than any other. Sir, he saved it from utter shipwreck; he saved your Constitution from revolution and ruin. Is he to be assailed here? Sir, he never sought any office. His pure life, his great knowledge of affairs and his ability, had commended him in these perilous times as the best man the President could find to heal the wounds of this Republic, and guide the Ship of State through the terrible storm which is now upon it. He an inquisitor? Why?

Mr. President, that man is not quite honest who thus argues constitutional questions in this Senate, and invokes the Constitution in behalf of the rights of every man precisely as he would in times of peace, where there were isolated cases of delinquency, and where it was safe to bring a man to trial. The man who says it, and would have you proceed with these traitors precisely as you would in time of peace, is endeavoring to deceive the public. Can you prosecute a traitor south of Mason and Dixon's line? As the old saying is, you might as well try the devil in hell, and summon as jurors his chief angels. It is impracticable; it cannot be done. Why, then, stand up here contending that men should be tried by all the constitutional guarantees that are thrown around them in peaceful times? I repeat what I said; as no jurist has yet undertaken to define the limits to which a man might go in the honest defence of his life when assailed, so no statesman would undertake to limit the powers that the Government might use to preserve its life when assailed by traitors. I defy the gentleman to make an argument worthy of the name against that proposition.

Do you think that we will stand by, yielding to your argument, while you fetter our legs and bind our arms with the Constitution of the United States, that you may stab it to death? Is that your idea of the Constitution, that it is made to tie the hands of the honest men from its defence, while traitors may stab it to the heart? That is the use you would make of the Constitution of the United States. Sir, I say again, I have no scruples about the Constitution of the United States as wielded against traitors in this time of violent revolution. You have seen that the ordinary course of the common law and the Constitution cannot be followed. Shall the Constitution lie down and die? Must we give up all our glorious principles that were defended by it, because traitors have assaulted it in such a way that they have prevented its operation? Sir, folly like that would deserve the ignominious fate which would inevitably follow so foolish a course.

Mr. President, as I have said heretofore, it is a remarkable fact, that although thousands upon thousands of men have fallen victims to this rebellion on the field of battle, and many thousands more have been mangled and wounded, inflicting misery, poverty and death upon millions of people, we are yet told on this floor that we should be tender-footed; that we cannot tie the hands of a miserable traitor from giving information to the enemy, and thus aiding them to carry on this accursed war. Is that the logic of the Senator? Sir, he will find but few adherents here; he will find less among the people, for they are entirely ahead of us in all that pertains to the vigorous prosecution of this war, and a vigorous dealing with traitors according to their crimes. Why, sir, in every hole and corner in this city, nay, in almost every city of the United States, and in the country too, you find these slippery, slimy, glib-tongued traitors who are ready on all occasions to give information of all the movements of your army and of every other important fact to the enemy, so that they have it earlier than we. You would not expect that a man taken with arms in his hands, fighting against our armies, persecuting us to death, should go entirely without punishment; and yet he does the enemy infinitely less service than the man who, pretending to be a Union man, pretending to be loyal, worms himself into the knowledge of the most important secrets of your Executive, and then goes forth and gives it to your enemies, whereby thousands of your men may die in vain upon the field of battle, and all brought about by this slippery, slimy traitor. There are men, who would get up afterward in this Senate, and, with tears in their eyes, plead the cause of just such a wretch as that who, with all the evidence of guilt upon him, was sent off for a little while to sojourn in one of our fortifications, and call it inquisitorial, tyrannical, devilish.

Sir, the man that makes use of these arguments need not tell me he is loyal. I tell you the danger to our institution is not so great from traitors in the field with arms in their hand as it is from the nimble-tongued, slippery hypocrites who go forth apologizing and countermanding every energetic measure of the Administration, and endeavoring to deceive the people, and stir them up to hostility against this wise, this just, this most moderate Administration. I do not believe the people are going to be deceived by it. I do not believe that your night meetings to reconstruct the Democratic party, your resolutions of censure, accusing them of tyranny here and intimidation abroad—I do not believe all these things and all your machinations will be able to deceive an awakened people who understand all your arts, and are determined to back a wise Administration in the course it shall pursue.

Mr. President, in conclusion I will say, I have no fears in this great controversy; I do not agree with many of my brethren whose hearts seem to fail them before the magnitude of the great issues in which we are embarked. I believe in the justice of God, in His overruling providence, that He will nerve the arms of those who are contending for the right, and will make them victorious at last. I have no fears of it. When this great contest is over; when rebellion shall be stamped under foot; when Southern men shall see the error of their ways, and the interest they have in the great principles of our Constitution, which has ministered so much to their prosperity, divested of passion, and the conceit that they have entertained so long whipped out of them, they will come back again, and glory in us who have saved them from themselves; and, reunited again upon a real basis of freedom and republicanism, this great nation will rise from this commotion like the phenix from its ashes; and whoever shall survive twenty years hence, will see this the leading nation on God's earth, existing without reproach, and, conscious of her imposing power, she will be the pride, the boast and the hope of all the nations of the earth.

WHAT CONTRABANDS ARE GOOD FOR.

A correspondent of the *Tribune*, writing from Fredericksburg, gives the following account of the employment of contrabands, and their value to the Union forces:—

To all who do not believe that loyal blacks have been and can still be useful to the army in the highest degree, I would advise an immediate visit to the Army of the Rappahannock, and a careful and honest investigation of the facts presented to them, and then, if after such examination they still remain sceptical, absolute demonstration is of no value whatever to minds created like theirs. Several days since, the loyal blacks came in and told the Generals the rebels were preparing to retreat. Their story was, in part, believed, but was not made the basis of action until yesterday, when orders were given to advance a short distance, and see if the enemy's pickets were still in sight. The order was immediately put into execution, and the result was, no rebel pickets seen, either of infantry or cavalry.

In the evening of the same day, two loyal blacks were brought to the headquarters of Gen. Patrick between a file of soldiers and upon being interrogated by that most Christian-like gentleman and soldier it has been your correspondent's pleasure to meet, said they were slaves of Capt. Sherman, of Col. Johnson's regiment of rebel cavalry, and had left their master's house at Spotsylvania Court House that morning, upon hearing it reported they were about to be taken South; that several days before, the rebel infantry all retreated, and but one regiment of cavalry remained to perform picket duty, and that a son of Capt. Sherman told them the entire force in front of Gen. McDowell had been ordered to prepare four days' rations, and to fall back upon the junction with the Gordonsville Road; and further still, that all the bridges were being burned to obstruct the advance of our army.

Upon hearing their story, Gen. Patrick immediately sent them to McDowell, who cross-examined them until he was entirely satisfied that they told the truth. This morning, acting upon the information obtained through these loyal blacks, Gen Patrick took a battalion of the Harris Light Cavalry, and made a reconnoisance in the direction of the enemy's camping ground.

Before starting, however, he sent for Henry Tyler, an intelligent loyal black slave of the famous, or rather infamous, Alfred Bernard of Fredericksburg, mounted him upon a good horse, put a pair of spurs upon his heels, placed him on his right, and told him he had appointed him as chief aid and guide for the day.

This conspicuous position and sudden promotion rather embarrassed the faithful black at first, but in a few moments your correspondent could not discover, so far as modesty of deportment and the prompt execution of all orders committed to him were concerned, but that he acquitted himself as well as any one else upon the staff, and that is saying a great deal, for a more gallant and gentlemanly staff than Gen. Patrick's there is not in the army of the Rappahannock. During the entire reconnoissance, Gen. Patrick consulted Henry every few moments with regard to the position of the roads and paths, the names of the occupants of the different dwellings we passed, and whether they were loyal or disloyal, the amount of corn on hand, and the number of slaves to consume it, and on many other subjects of value to an officer making a reconnoisance.

Upon seeing how gracefully Henry bore his honors and how well he discharged his duties, your correspondent became curious to know more of him—something of his past life or experience. He told me he was born a slave of Alfred Bernard, that he remained with him until about six months ago, when, after the most inhuman treatment, he resolved to be a freeman. Being quite the most energetic man on the plantation, he made harangues to the other slaves, and urged them all to strike for their freedom. After much urging and persuading, he at last prevailed upon fourteen to leave, and one dark, rainy night, $14,000 worth of Alfred Bernard's property suddenly disappeared.

Thirteen of the fourteen escaped, and found what they so much prized—their freedom within the lines of the Union army. Henry, after seeing the others safely through, went back—travelled by night through the woods—with the intention of bringing off all the remaining slaves on Bernard's plantation. In this attempt he was discovered. Of course, treatment the most brutal and inhuman followed. The sharp lash of the overseer gashed his back, his wrists were confined in iron handcuffs, and his feet bound together with cords.

In this condition he was sent to a prison in Richmond, then confined in a loathsome dungeon a month with bread and water food, and then sent to work at the bottom of a coal pit, and closely watched. His natural sagacity and shrewdness, however, soon enabled him to devise means to escape. He left the coal pit without a "permit," travelled through the woods by night, and at last reached our lines.

Henry Tyler has now the pleasure of riding by the plantation of Alfred Bernard daily, without the least fear of being scourged, handcuffed, and sent to prison. His colored friends on the adjoining plantations, as we passed by them, received him with cheers, the swinging of old hats, and every demonstration of joy they could manifest. Like Wm. Jackson, Jeff. Davis's coachman, he is a pure negro, and is not indebted to any of his white brothers for his intelligence.

Capt. Wm. H. Paine, topographical engineer on Gen. McDowell's staff, informed me this evening, that the most valuable information he had been able to obtain with regard to the streams, and the bridges

which cross them, the distance from one to the other, the names of the planters who reside on the roads, the villages, hamlets, school-houses, the exact nature of the country, and all that an engineer requires in order to make an accurate map of the country, had been given him by the loyal blacks, who seeght protection within our lines.

One man especially, Dabney Walker, had rendered invaluable service. He gave the distances of the streams from one to the other so accurately that in adding them all up, he made a mistake of but two miles from Fredericksburg to Richmond. Capt. Paine also said that he had ceased to employ white men, not finding them accurate, and now had authority from General McDowell to mount twelve negro men as guides.

☞ After reading the really treasonable and villanous articles from the Boston *Courier*, New York *Journal of Commerce*, &c., contained in that sink of iniquity, the "Refuge of Oppression," on our first page, it will be peculiarly edifying to peruse the following article from the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, as a scathing commentary upon them all.

WHO ARE THE TRAITORS?

One of the special devices of the concealed traitors at the North, who are withheld from open complicity with the rebellion only by bodily fear, is to darken counsel and confound judgment by incessant repetition of the lie that the Abolitionists are alone to blame for the war, and that they are equally hostile to the Constitution and the Union with the worst of the rebels. *The Herald*, *Journal of Commerce*, *Express*, the Boston *Courier* and *Post*, and hordes of malignant sympathizers with treason of the same type, are incessant in bawling out these slanders, and endeavoring to divert the indignation of the nation from its worst enemies to its best friends. Of course, all these railing accusations are made in the interest of the rebellion; and the fact that those that make them wear the mask of loyalty, and are loud in their professions of hatred of the rebel leaders, only makes them the more dangerous to the nation, as a spy and an assassin is more mischievous as well as more despicable than an enlisted soldier openly arrayed against it. Although these calumnies are ostensibly aimed at the Abolitionists only, they are meant to glance aside at all Republicans, who hold fast to the anti-slavery ideas which alone have given origin and power to their movement. But these we may leave to take care of themselves, and they are, to do them justice, quite swift enough to disclaim any alliance or affinity with us. Let us see what ground there is for these charges against what Dr. Channing used to call "the technical Abolitionists."

How and in what degree are they responsible for the existing civil war? Precisely in the way, and in the measure, that Luther, and Melancthon, and the Reformers who exposed and denounced with them the corruptions of the court of Rome, were responsible for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Thirty Years' War, and the *dragonnades* of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Abolitionists have compelled the attention of the nation to the horrors and villanies of American slavery, to the extent to which the North was a party to these enormities by its support and countenance of them in State and Church, and have preached repentance and reformation as the only way of escape from the very evils which have now overtaken it. They have demonstrated the right of the slave to his own body and soul, the crime of the master in denying it to him, and the duty of the free States to withdraw the help by means of which alone it could be committed. And they have shown by arguments drawn from the nature of things, from the constitution of man and from the facts of history, that the justice they invoked was the way of safety, of peace, of prosperity, of civilization, of religion. They never counselled even the slaves to exercise their natural right of insurrection, but exhorted them to patience and long-suffering as the surest exodus from their captivity. Of course, they never contemplated a civil war as a means of the forcible emancipation of the slaves. It is true, no doubt, that the influence of the truths they have been preaching for thirty years has hastened the outbreak of the rebellion, which was inevitable from the moment that slavery was made an integral part of our institutions, by the effect those truths have had in modifying ecclesiastical and political action. But the collision between the two hostile principles of free and slave labor must have come, had Garrison never lived, by the operation of the eternal laws of opposites, as the insurrection against Rome must have happened sooner or later had Luther been strangled in his cradle. The labors of the Abolitionists have been well repaid by the general intelligence they have spread abroad in the nation as to the essential character of slavery, its necessary incidents and tendencies, and the necessity of its nature to rule the Republic, or to trample its life out under its feet. Had their counsels been listened to, and what they advised been done, civil war would have been an impossibility, all sections of the country would have breathed one spirit of peace and friendship, free labor would not only have made the blacks at the South contented and happy, but would have vastly increased the wealth as well as the safety and civilization of the whites, and the United States would have stood at the head of the Powers of the Earth.

And what ground is there for charging the Abolitionists with disloyalty to the Constitution and the Union? Our anti-slavery lives have been in the presence of all our brethren. The American Anti-Slavery Society is no Secret Society, no order of Knights of the Golden Circle. Our doings and sayings are done and said before all the world, our doctrines and plans are printed where all may see for themselves what they are. We appeal to the law and to the testimony to acquit us of any treasonable word or work—to the law which the nation has made, and to the testimony we have furnished ourselves. While, as Abolitionists, we have accepted as our first public duty, in our individual and our organized capacity, to endeavor to procure the abolition of slavery, we have never endeavored to bring it about by any indirection of word or deed. We have construed the Constitution of the United States as the Supreme Court of the nation, as the Bench and Bar of all the several States, and as the general voice of the nation have interpreted it. Excellent persons have differed from us in this particular, and held that the Constitution contains no allusion to slavery, and that the power over it rests in Congress, and may be exercised for its abolition. We have never taken this ground. Holding that slavery has certain constitutional guarantees, which those swearing to support the Constitution are bound to maintain, we have refused to take office ourselves, or to vote for others for offices, which could only be approached through taking this obligation. This is the extent of our practical disunionism. Does it bear any strong resemblance to that of Calhoun and Jefferson Davis? This, we have done, not as an anti-slavery measure, but as what was due to our own personal honor and individual self-respect. We could not take an oath to do actions which we esteemed immoral and dishonest, nor appoint others to do them for us, and thus we have voluntarily disfranchised ourselves rather than execute the requisitions of the Constitution. Had we taken office under this oath, and then used our power to abolish slavery in the States, believing all the while that we had no such constitutional power, our position would have been somewhat analogous to that of the Southern disunionists. And the scruple which has governed our own conduct has always controlled that which we asked of others. Never have the Abolitionists of the American Anti-Slavery Society petitioned Congress to abolish slavery in the States, or to do anything contrary to their constitutional obligations. Believing that slavery exists only by the moral and physical support of the free States, we have petitioned our several States to take the proper constitutional steps to withdraw themselves from the Union—never to rebel against it, or to dissolve the Union by force of arms. What imaginable resemblance can be discerned between our position and that of the slaveholding insurgents?

Such, and thus strictly lawful, has been the conduct of the Abolitionists, during the long years of their labor and their waiting. Now, by the action of the slaveholders themselves, the whole face of affairs is changed. They have plunged the nation into one of the most gigantic wars ever waged, and all that slavery may be confirmed and extended. Powers dormant during peace, in the Constitution, spring up armed at all points, at the trumpet-call of war. The life of the nation is more than the form of the raiment that clothes it. Self-preservation permits and demands the use of means which only that extremity can justify. Under the war powers of the Constitution, it has been shown by John Quincy Adams—and it is now all but universally admitted—that Congress, or the President, or any General in the field, may emancipate slaves as a military necessity. Is there anything treasonable in our urging the President, or Congress, or any one in authority, to perform a strictly constitutional act? This is the whole extent of our offending. The men who cry out upon us for doing this, and who exclaim against every disturbance of slavery in the rebel States, show that, had they been in power, they would have surrendered the dearest rights of the nation to pacify the insolent clamors of the slave-drivers, or failing of that, would have sacrificed the integrity of the national territory rather than maintain it by the constitutional destruction of slavery. Out of their own mouths they are convicted of treason, against the nation as well as against God and humanity. Happily, we are sure that the great body of the people at the North are not deceived by these malignants to believe a lie. They know that slavery is now within the gripe of the nation, and that permanent peace and prosperity can only be secured by its utter annihilation. They are now demanding it, and are hoping that the President will do his duty to the nation while it is yet time to save its life. But, whether he do or not, we are not doubtful as to what the answer of impartial contemporaries and posterity will be, when asked to render their verdict in these premises, as to who are the traitors.—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

GOV. STANLY AND HIS BARBAROUS PROCEEDINGS IN NORTH CAROLINA.

In the course of a recent sermon, delivered by him at Plymouth Church, HENRY WARD BEECHER commented upon the late barbarous proceedings of the new Military Governor of North Carolina, in suppressing the schools for the contrabands in that State, sending back slaves to rebel masters, &c., &c., as follows:—

If a man elected as the civil Governor of the people of North Carolina had said that he was compelled, by his oath, to administer the laws of that State according to their intent and meaning, we might, considering his circumstances, have seen some reason for the assertion; but that the Government at Washington, implicating you and me, and every citizen of the Free States of this nation, should assume the power to intrude on North Carolina a Governor, and that that Governor, being intruded upon this State, without the vote of its people, should say, "I must administer every law of North Carolina according to the intent of that law," is the strangest thing I ever heard of. If the President had the right to say to North Carolina, "You shall take for your Governor the man whom I choose to send you," then he had the right to say, "He shall administer the laws as I tell him to." If he had the right to send a man to govern the people of that State, there is nothing relating to the mode in which they should be governed that he had not a right to determine. And it is a pretence to say that a Military Governor, sent into a rebellious State, must administer the inhuman laws on the statute-books of that State as they were designed to be administered by their wicked framers.

If this matter has not already come to the ears and eyes of the President, I pray that it may speedily be brought before him. And if this Administration shall add the ratification of the American Government to this accursed doctrine, that a black man is not human, that he has no rights which a white man is bound to respect, and that to teach him to read the Word of God is a crime, then how deceived have we been! and how miserable are we in our rulers! But it will not. I believe that same eminent Magistrate who has surprised with joy our hearts will give us one more cause of rejoicing by declaring that the laws of North Carolina, which forbid the education of the blacks, are null and void while the State is governed by his authority. For, I tell you, those schools are to be opened again. God has rolled that unfortunate people upon you, not that you may imbrute them, and take from them the keys of knowledge, and lock them in the prison-house of ignorance to toil for you. God has inseparably joined you to them; and if you are going far up on the plane of prosperity and civilization, you must carry these your brethren up with you. God will not let the twilight of heaven play about your head, while infernal darkness hovers about your feet. This is Gospel, this is justice, and you will find it to be fact.

And now, in reference to the whole future, there are two principles: one is to ignore the rights and the claims of four millions of men, and the other is to accept them. Once accept the African population, and acknowledge your duty toward them, and God will have patience and forbearance with you—for it is not possible to settle all the questions relating to them to-day nor to morrow; and events must needs follow which will require long patience on the part of God. I stand over against every Southern law that declares that men are chattels; I stand over against every court whose judge has declared that the slave is a being owned absolutely by his master, and has no existence outside of his master's will; and in the name of the Lord God I say, that there has not been issued from the court of heaven any authority to court or magistrate on earth to pronounce the men for whom He died to be less than men. The blood of Christ is the title to emancipation. It is the blood of Christ that is the foundation on which we plead the right of the oppressed to God's Word.

And now, the Christian President of a Christian people, struggling for the maintenance of a Christian Government, sends a Governor to North Carolina, whose first official act is to disband the schools in which, without remuneration, a Northern artist was teaching seven hundred colored people to read—what?—the story of the crucifixion! the words of Him who came to bring great light to those that sat in the region of the dead; who came to open prison doors, and break bonds, and let the oppressed go free! It is declared by Governor Stanly that there is to be no such teaching as that!

Let us wait to hear whether this is to be ratified. For myself, I feel that if this struggle is to inaugurate the policy, not only of emancipation, but of teaching, the auspices of the future are blessed; but if the result is to be that we shall put our feet again on the neck of this poor people, the future will be clouded and dark. Though hand be joined in hand, the wicked shall not prosper. Let the States be leagued together again to despoil the innocent, and we shall come to naught. No weapon shall prosper against us so long as we keep our hands on simple right and justice. If we deny them, and that in the person of our poor and despised brother, God will not prosper us nor our time, and it will be for another day and another nation, probably, to advance the glory of the world that we were made instrumental in producing. God will not let you go on without them. "They without us should not be made perfect." Later generations may say of us, "They without us could not be made perfect." May God, may the cross, and may the hope of redemption through Him that hung thereon, rebuke us! May that sweet spirit of the master which turns hate to love, and overrules folly with eternal wisdom, give a better mind to our people and our times, and a nobler issue to this struggle! Amen.

FREEDOM IN WASHINGTON!

John S. Rock, Esq., the colored lawyer of Boston, who has returned home from Washington, where he has been to deliver his lecture—"A Plea for my Race," before the "Association of Impartial Progress," gave an account of his visit to that city in the 12th Baptist Church last Sunday evening; and in response to the question as to whether or no he was badly treated in Washington, said, "Soon after the incendiary report of my lecture had been published in the *Star*, my friends learned from sources which they considered reliable, that I was in great danger, and that there was a plot on foot—an organized mob—determined to lynch me, and which only waited a favorable opportunity to do their work. Though compelled to believe that I was not safe, I remained in Washington ten days, and much against the advice of friends I went freely about the city; and with the exception of being spit upon, having dirt thrown upon me, being struck by a stone fired at my head in open day, and of being waylaid and having a horse-pistol snapped at me at night, I was not assaulted in that city."—*Boston Transcript.*

☞ A comprehensive "exception," truly!

☞ The New York *Tribune* says: A respectable colored lawyer of Boston, (said to be John S. Rock) who has been in Washington, was, on Friday, refused admission to the cars to return home, unless he could give surety for $1,000 that he was not a fugitive slave. Several Senators interfered; but nothing could be done until a military pass was procured from Secretary Stanton.

☞ And this is all the personal freedom conceded to a colored citizen of Massachusetts at the Capital!

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 20, 1862.

FOURTH OF JULY!

It has been the invariable custom of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society to commemorate this National Anniversary; not, however, in the boastful spirit and inflated manner of those who rejoiced in a Union with Slaveholders, and who could see no contradiction, in such a Union, to the great principles of the immortal Declaration of Independence of July 4th, 1776. Our celebration has ever been with the distinct and simple purpose of recalling to the mind and impressing upon the heart of the people the great "self-evident truths, that *all* men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

Confident that our repeated testimonies on these National Anniversaries have been as good seed, sown upon soil long indeed stubborn and unyielding, but at length fertilized, and now full of promise of a glorious harvest,—soon, we trust, to be gathered in,—we again invite and summon the friends of Freedom, of every name and age, and whether living within or beyond the bounds of this our honored Commonwealth, to meet with us, as aforetime, and in even greater numbers than ever before, at the beautiful and well-known FRAMINGHAM GROVE, on the ensuing Fourth of July.

We need say nothing of the beauty and many attractions of the spot, whether for adults or for the young. The day and the occasion constitute the real claims upon our attention, and to these let the Anti-Slavery men and women of Massachusetts, and of New England, respond fitly, as they so well know how to do.

The *Boston and Worcester Railroad Co.* will convey passengers to and from the Grove, upon their main road and its branches, on that day, at the following rates of fare:—

From Boston, Worcester, and Millbury, 70 cents for adults, 35 cents for children.

From Grafton, adults, 60 cents, children, 30 cents.

From Milford, Milford Branch, (except Holliston,) Northboro', Marlboro', Needham, Grantville, Cordaville, Southboro', and Westboro', 50 cents for adults, 25 cents for children.

From Natick, Holliston, and Ashland, adults 40 cents, children 20 cents.

Trains will run to the Grove, as follows:—

Leave Boston at 9.15, and Worcester, at 9.40, A. M., stopping at way stations; from Millbury, regular morning train; Milford, at 7.10, or 9.40; Northboro', at 7; Marlboro', at 7.24, or 10.15.

RETURNING, leave the Grove at 5.15 for Boston and Worcester; at 6.15 for Milford and Northboro' branches.

Admission fee to the enclosure of the Grove, for those *not* coming by the cars, adults 10 cents, children 5 cents. Those who come by railroad admitted free.

☞ The House at the Grove will be open for Refreshments.

In case of rain, the meeting will be held in Waverley Hall, opposite the railroad depot at South Framingham.

Addresses from well-known advocates of the cause, with Songs, and such recreation as this attractive place affords, will occupy the day. Among the speakers expected are WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, ANDREW T. FOSS, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, E. H. HEYWOOD, WM. WELLS BROWN, JOHN S. ROCK, Esq., Rev. DANIEL FOSTER of Kansas, and others.

Friends, one and all! Let us be like those who wait for their Lord at his coming; that, whether it be at midnight, or at cock-crowing, or in the morning, we may be found ready, our lamps trimmed and burning. Now is the time for us to work with redoubled energy and zeal. The enemy everywhere is sowing tares. If possible, the very elect will be deceived. Let *not one* stay his hand, or hold back his testimony; but, with renewed purpose and with increased hope, do battle valiantly for God and humanity, until the diminishing advocates of Slavery are driven forever from the field, and "Liberty be proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
E. H. HEYWOOD,
HENRY O. STONE,
CHARLES A. HOVEY,
} *Committee of Arrangements.*

TENTH YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS AT LONGWOOD, PA.

We have again been permitted to attend the annual convocation of Progressive Friends at Longwood, Pa. No special and urgent invitation (though kindly extended to us) was needed to draw us thither; for the recollection of former visits,—replete with unalloyed pleasure and soul-strengthening interchange of thought and sentiment,—was too vivid to render any thing of the kind necessary. It will always be to us a matter of deep regret when we cannot enjoy such a rich privilege. The attractions are numerous and powerful. The region in which this Yearly Meeting is held is extremely beautiful; the land is rich and fertile—neither too elevated nor too level; the view in every direction one to delight the eye and to cheer the heart. If the original paradise was more lovely, Adam and Eve must have had a blissful time of it while located therein, and some very sad remembrances after their expulsion. Moreover, the time for holding the Meeting, early in June, is precisely when Nature is arrayed in her handsomest attire; when the grass is greenest, every tree in the fulness of its leafy opulence, every bird in sweetest song, and flowers in their freshest development. But more to be prized than all these outward manifestations are the inward communion and fellowship of spirit, which, thus far, have uniformly been felt and witnessed by those who have attended this annual gathering at Longwood. With the largest liberty of utterance and the freest discussion, there has been the blessed harmony which is found in the maintenance of religious freedom, in the recognition of practical piety, in the growth of spiritual knowledge, in the prevalence of a true catholicity, in the advocacy of the cause of freedom and humanity on a world-wide basis, and in bearing testimony against whatever tends to the oppression or degradation of any portion of the human race.

Although no religious creed or sectarian shibboleth is made a condition of membership, but all sincere and earnest seekers after truth are welcomed to its membership, this Society is composed very largely of those who were formerly connected with what is known as the Hicksite Society of Friends. In withdrawing from that body, it was not because they did not revere the memory and admire the character of its great founder, Elias Hicks, but it was precisely for that very reason. They saw in him one who cherished no blind veneration for the past; whose spirit was nobly progressive; who believed in the propriety of proving all things, whilst holding fast that which is good; who prized unpopular but honest dissent incomparably higher than fashionable conformity; who thought much of the spirit, and comparatively little of the letter; who deemed it a cheap and easy piety to burn incense to the memory of ancient prophets, redeemers, apostles, saints and sages, and therefore he indulged in no such empty offerings; who felt that he was living in the present and for the future, with responsibilities to be met, and duties to be performed, peculiar to his times; whose testimonies were against priestcraft, superstition, bigotry, intolerance, and whatever else trammelled the soul, and also against slavery, war, and all their kindred evils. But in the Society bearing his name, they found little of his spirit, and an all-pervading purpose to keep the peace with popular unrighteousness, to conform more and more to a corrupt public sentiment, to rest upon his meritorious life and character, and to pay more regard to the outward appearance than to the inward life. Hence, they felt constrained to withdraw from it; in a few instances, some had been excommunicated, though not with any reference to character.

They commenced their experiment as a society, styling themselves "Progressive Friends," under very discouraging circumstances; but, though still far from being numerically multitudinous, they have become morally and religiously potential by the testimonies they have borne, the appeals they have made, the interest they have excited, the example they have set, and the reformatory spirit by which they are animated. Though holding their anniversary in neither city nor town, but in the interior where only scattered farms are to be seen, it has usually brought together thousands of curious and interested persons, coming from various distances, in vehicles of every description, till the assemblage grew to an unwieldy size. In some measure to obviate so large an influx, it was commenced and ended, this season, so as not to include the first day of the week. In consequence of a severe rain-storm during the first day, and two or three days previous, and the consequent bad state of the travelling, the number in attendance was still more reduced; yet it was larger than the very neat and commodious meeting-house could hold, compactly crowded, and was composed of the very best material. The sessions occupied Thursday, Friday and Saturday, June 5th, 6th and 7th, forenoon and afternoon—the brief recess each day being devoted to a general social pic-nic on the ground, and presenting a very primitive and picturesque appearance.

At the opening session, Oliver Johnson, one of the Clerks, after a few preliminary remarks, referring to the very interesting circumstances in which the Society had assembled, read the call. William Barnard implored the Divine presence and guidance, and Theodore Tilton, of New York, read the sixty-fifth Psalm.

The following persons were appointed a Committee to prepare Testimonies:—Alfred H. Love, Theodore Tilton, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Mary F. Smith, Mary A. W. Johnson, Oliver Johnson, Thomas Garrett, John G. Jackson, Catharine Clement, William L. Chaffin, Thomas Worrall, Philena Heald, Amelia Jackson, William Barnard.

Much regret was felt on account of the absence of Joseph A. Dugdale, who had served the Society as Clerk from its first organization, and to whose earnest and devoted labors its existence and prosperity are largely due. An interesting letter from him, and from his beloved wife and venerated mother, dated near Mount Pleasant, Iowa, was received and read.

Letters were also received from Charles K. Whipple, of Boston; Moncure D. Conway, of Cincinnati; and Ann Eliza Lee Roby, of Pleasant Lake, Indiana. In noticing the proceedings, the *Anti-Slavery Standard* says:—

"With the exception of a brief period spent in raising funds and in transacting other necessary business, nearly the whole time of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of the one grand and absorbing theme of the hour, the Slaveholders' Rebellion, its Cause and Consequences, and the Duties of the Government and people in regard to the same. The subject was introduced, first in the form of a Testimony, prepared by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, and embodying the views and purposes which, in the judgment of the Committee appointed for the purpose, were worthy of adoption by the Society: and next in the form of a memorial to the President of the United States, entreating him, for the salvation of the country, to exercise the power belonging to him in the present crisis, by proclaiming the freedom of every slave in the land.

The question was discussed in all its important bearings, by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, of Boston, THEODORE TILTON, of New York, Rev. GEORGE GORDON, President of Iberia College (Ohio), Rev. J. SELLA MARTIN, an eloquent colored man from Boston, Rev. WILLIAM M. CHAFFIN, Pastor of the Second Unitarian Church in Philadelphia, ALFRED H. LOVE, and others. Mr. GARRISON spoke with characteristic earnestness and power, carrying conviction to every mind, and impressing every conscience. Mr. TILTON's addresses combined great clearness of statement with a power of logic and a wealth of illustration rarely exhibited by one of his years. His earnestness and eloquence won all hearts. Mr. GORDON's presence was a source of unfeigned gratification to the assembly, and the single address which he was able to deliver was heard with interest. All were glad to see and hear an old servant of the anti-slavery cause, who had endured a long imprisonment upon a charge of violating the provisions of the infamous Fugitive Slave Law. Mr. Martin, to the great regret of the whole meeting, was only able to stay one day and make one speech, but that was quite sufficient to win for him the high esteem of all who heard him. It was much regretted, also, that Mr. Chaffin was obliged to depart at the close of the first day."

The Testimony on the Rebellion is as follows.

SLAVERY AND THE REBELLION.

It was deemed expedient to omit the annual meeting of this Religious Society a year ago, in consequence of the extremely critical state of public affairs at that period, and the wide-spread and all-absorbing excitement resulting therefrom. Hence, it is proper that we should improve the first opportunity to record our convictions and feelings concerning the present treasonable dismemberment of the American Union, the rebellious attitude of a large majority of the slave States, the responsibilities and duties of the National Government in this trying hour under its constitutional provisions, the essential and radical cause of our national calamities, and the only sure method to restore peace, promote the general welfare, and preserve the unity of the republic.

1. We affirm, then, that the so-called Southern Confederacy finds no justification or apology for its existence in reason, conscience, expediency, or in any of the principles or doctrines set forth in the Declaration of Independence. It is the monstrous offspring of slaveholding despotism, and unbridled lust of power and dominion; of more than aristocratic contempt and hatred of free institutions and the democratic theory of government; of a barbarous and fearfully degraded state of society, arising from the existence in the South of its unnatural, cruel, and most unrighteous system of chattel slavery. By the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency, the slave oligarchy deemed, for the first time since the organization of the government, that they had lost, beyond recovery, in consequence of the irresistible growth of anti-slavery sentiment at the North, their controlling power over the administration of our national affairs; and, though still retaining a subservient majority in both Houses of Congress, and having the Supreme Court of the United States strongly committed to the security of their slaveholding interests, they lost no time in violently rending the Union asunder, making war upon the government, organizing a hostile confederacy based upon the principle of chattel servitude, and feloniously appropriating to themselves whatever national property was found within their domains, in the shape of custom-houses, post-offices, mints, arsenals, fortifications, and other means of revenue and defence. Previous to this, for a protracted period, they had so inflamed the minds of the ignorant Southern populace as to lead to the infliction of the most shocking outrages upon the persons and property of multitudes of innocent Northern residents and sojourners among them, with no other provocation except that they were Northern men. Of the crimes and barbarities these conspirators have committed, since they madly commenced the war—outraging all the claims of humanity and civilization—it is here needless to speak at length. They will make such a volume of horrors as can scarcely be paralleled by the most savage warfare in the darkest ages of the world. Scalping, poisoning, and assassinating the living—mangling the bodies of the dead—making the skulls of Northern soldiers into drinking-cups, and their bones into ornaments for barbarous display—repeatedly and persistently hoisting the white flag of truce, only to betray and slaughter those to whom they thus professed to surrender—carrying desolation and woe everywhere in their train—these are but specimens of the almost numberless deeds of treachery and ferocity that have marked their bloody career.

2. Under these circumstances, we have no hesitancy in declaring that the government—measuring it by its constitutional obligations—had no alternative but to seek to suppress this treasonable outbreak by all the means and forces at its disposal, or else to betray the sacred trusts committed to it by the people; and, therefore, throughout this fearful struggle, it has had our sympathy, and desire for its success. For it has manifested no spirit of revenge, no wish to resort to extreme measures, if they could possibly be avoided; on the contrary, it has erred on the side of a timid and compromising policy, and in dealing with the rebels as misguided brethren, rather than as enemies of mankind. Certainly, its forbearance, long-suffering, magnanimity, have had no parallel in governmental history.

In thus expresing our sympathy with the government, we do not conceive that we repudiate or invalidate even the most radical peace principles that may be cherished by any of our Society. We simply pronounce upon the conduct of the traitorous secessionists, in plain view of its unmitigated wickedness; we measure the government on its own plane of Constitutional duty; and we judge the people by their acknowledged standard of political and moral obligations to themselves and their country. A war conducted upon peace principles is as paradoxical as a peace conducted upon war principles. The means must be adapted to the ends. Wooden frigates against iron-clad steamers are of no avail. A people who are false to themselves, and to their highest convictions, in a great trial-hour when mighty interests are at stake, cannot by cowardice or treachery aid the cause of peace, even though they shed no blood, or use no carnal weapons. By refusing to employ the army and navy against the rebellious South, through imbecility or a disposition to compromise, the government would assuredly hinder the progress of peace, and strengthen the hands of lawless violence. It was a more hopeful day for the cause of universal peace, as well as of universal freedom, when there was a simultaneous armed uprising of the entire North, after the capture of fort Sumter, than before; for it indicated (whatever base alloy may have attended it) a resurrection of the spirit of freedom, of disinterested patriotism, of manly courage, of heroic self-sacrifice, where till then those sentiments had been paralyzed under the spell of Southern domination. "First pure, then peaceable"—this is the law of progress. "First the blade, then the ear, then the corn in the ear, fully ripe"—this is the law of vegetable growth. From barbarism to despotism, from despotism to a limited monarchy—from a limited monarchy to a democratic representative government—this is the law of political development. Independent of all these, and beyond them all, is that government or kingdom "which cannot be shaken," whose officers are peace, whose exactors righteousness, whose walls salvation, and whose gates praise; within whose dominion violence shall no more be heard, wasting nor destruction within its borders, and whose people "shall be all righteous: they shall inherit the land forever." But as yet, alas! no such state of human perfectibility has been attained by any people. The complete redemption of the world from its transgressions and mistakes, its errors and follies, its lusts and passions, lies in the unlimited future. Slowly and painfully, step by step, is any real progress made.

History demonstrates that whether war comes as a judgment or a trial, God "causes the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of wrath he restrains."

In the present case, the war is to be viewed both as a judgment and a trial. Though confined in its worst inflictions to the slaveholding section of the Union, its mournful effects are felt in every part of the North. Its fearfully accumulating load of taxation—its derangement of every branch of peaceful industry and the general business—its fierce sectional estrangement and hate—its legacy of crime and profligacy to children's children—its immense sacrifice of human life, carrying lamentation and woe into almost every household, like the wailing of the Egyptians at the loss of all their first-born—these are some of the vials of Divine retribution which are now poured out upon the whole land, for its grievous and unrelenting oppression of a guiltless and inoffensive race. As a nation, we have forged their fetters and made heavy their yokes; we have refused to proclaim liberty every man to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; "therefore, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine." "We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and we would not hear: THEREFORE IS THIS DISTRESS COME UPON US." Our Northern complicity with the South, in her "trade in slaves and the souls of men," has been from the organization of the government till now; and it is just that we should be called to suffer in proportion to our guilt. For the last thirty years, what has been left undone at the North, by religious fellowship and political affiliation with those who are now leagued in hot rebellion to overthrow all free institutions, by priestly defences of slaveholding or biblical extenuations of it, by constant compromise and yielding to the menaces and bribes of the Slave Power, by malicious defamation of the uncompromising friends of universal emancipation, and by mobocratic assaults upon the Anti-Slavery Movement, to stimulate the haughty and domineering Slave Oligarchy of the South to commit the very treason for which they are now so severely condemned, and so terribly punished? Why should they not have supposed that their attempt to seize the government would surely prove successful? Judging from the past, what had they to fear of warlike resistance on the part of the Norun? Awful as is their guilt, it is not all theirs; for it is largely shared by the people of the free States, and hence it is that the whole land is made to mourn.

The cause of this bloody civil strife, therefore, being the enslavement of four million of the inhabitants of the land, there is but one sure method of bringing it to an end, and making at least partial atonement for our great iniquity. It is TO ABOLISH SLAVERY WITHOUT DELAY. In the present national exigency, the constitutional right and power of the government to perform this great act of justice and mercy, of righteousness and peace, seems to be beyond controversy. Never before, in the history of nations, has it been given to a government to wield the war power in so beneficent a manner, and on such a magnificent scale. To do so will be returning good for evil, blessing for cursing, brotherly kindness for murderous hate. It will end in universal reconciliation, by making the interests of all sections of the country homogeneous. All the consequences of the act will be glorious. "If we take take away from the midst of us the yoke, undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, then shall our light rise in obscurity, and our darkness be as the noon-day. And the Lord shall guide us continually, and satisfy our soul in drought, and make fat our bones; and we shall be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water whose waters fail not. And they that shall be of us shall build the old waste places; we shall raise up the foundations of many generations; and we shall be called, The repairers of the breach, The restorers of paths to dwell in."

But if, on the other hand, the people and government shall allow this sublime opportunity to pass unimproved; if, after subjugating the rebellious spirits of the South by fire and sword, they shall permit slavery to remain as an institution, and extend to it constitutional guarantees for its better security, and renew their "covenant with death and agreement with hell"; then, in due time, once more shall "judgment be laid to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding-place: when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, they shall be trodden down by it."

Since the war commenced, many things have occurred to grieve, astound and dishearten the friends of impartial liberty everywhere. Among these may be specified the revoking, by President Lincoln, of the just and humane proclamation of Gen. Fremont, setting free the slaves of all rebel masters in Missouri; and, more recently, annulling the sublime order of Gen. Hunter, liberating all the slaves (one million) in his Military Department, embracing the States of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida; the seizure and return of fugitive slaves found in the camps, and particularly in the capital of the nation; and, finally, the illegal and atrocious suppression of all the schools for the instruction of the "contrabands" in North Carolina, and the prompt restoration of fugitives even to rebel masters, by Gov. Stanly, the newly appointed military ruler of that State.

But we trust there will be no repetition of these shocking incongruities, and we hope for better things. For all that has been done, whether by the President or by Congress, in the direction of justice and right, we desire to bestow grateful commendation. The signal acts of progress in the total and immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia—in the formation of a treaty for the effectual suppression of the foreign slave trade—in the recognition of the independence of Liberia and Hayti—and in the passage of other important measures—all these wait to be gloriously crowned and consummated by one great comprehensive degree, on the part of the government—"*Liberty is proclaimed to all the inhabitants of the land, without regard to race or complexion.*"

The foregoing Testimony was adopted by a unanimous and hearty vote of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, after solemn deliberation and thorough discussion, on the 7th of Sixth month, 1862.

OLIVER JOHNSON, } *Clerks.*
JENNIE K. SMITH, }

The Memorial to the President was also adopted by a unanimous vote, and the Society, to mark its sense of the importance of the issue involved, appointed the venerable THOMAS GARRETT, of Wilmington, Del., ALICE ELIZA HAMBLETON, of Chester Co., Pa., and OLIVER JOHNSON, of New York, delegates to bear it to Washington, and present it to President Lincoln.

The Society also unanimously adopted the following Testimony:—

PEACE.

Amidst the convulsions of the present time, we feel it our duty to adhere still more closely to our oft-repeated peace testimonies.

While we utterly condemn the rebellious course of the South, and recognize the constitutional obligations of the Government to suppress it; we, nevertheless, feel that, so far from the present warlike state of the country disproving the validity or saving power of peace principles, we are the more confirmed in the conviction, that it is solely their rejection which has involved our nation in the present conflict of blood, and that their adoption would forever render slavery and war impossible.

The business of the Society having been brought to a close, appropriate farewell words were uttered by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, EUSEBIUS BARNARD and WILLIAM BARNARD. SAMUEL MARSHALL offered prayer. The hymn, "When shall we all meet again?" was sung, and the meeting closed with reading the following minute, prepared by the Clerks:

"The Meeting, having thus brought its business to a close, adjourns to another year. It is fitting to add that the proceedings throughout have been of absorbing interest. The solemn trials of the nation, involving so many perils and hopes of Freedom, found earnest utterance from many lips; nor was the sacred cause of peace neglected amid the din of war. A fine harmony pervaded all our discussions, and a high religious spirit animated and impressed many hearts. The mutual greetings of multitudes of friends, to whom this Meeting furnishes an annual occasion for a re-baptism of friendship, were cordial and delightful. We now separate, bearing in our hearts an unfeigned interest in one another's welfare, and an humble and cheerful faith that our Heavenly Father will bring speedily out of these troublous times a glorious triumph of Liberty and Peace."

The proceedings will be published shortly in pamphlet form.

We quote, once more, from the sketch of the proceedings, as given in the *Standard* of last week:—

"Notice having been given at the close of the Yearly Meeting that Mr. Garrison, Mr. Tilton, and others from a distance would attend the usual religious meeting on Sunday morning, the house at the time appointed was crowded to its utmost capacity. The occasion was one long to be remembered by all who were so fortunate as to be present. Oliver Johnson read an appropriate and touching petition to the Father and Mother of the whole human race from the volume of Theodore Parker's Prayers, lately published in Boston. The hymn, "When all thy mercies, O my God," was sung. Mr. Garrison read a portion of Scripture, and made a very timely and earnest address. Theodore Tilton spoke of love as the grand medium through which God reveals himself to mankind, illustrating the subject in a very striking and impressive way. The venerable Thos. Whitson expressed his exceeding gratification, in view of the proceedings of the Yearly Meeting, and exhorted all present to be faithful to the cause of the slave in labors to secure the needed proclamation of liberty by the government.

Mr. Garrison read the beautiful hymn that Theodore Parker loved so well,—"Nearer, my God, to Thee," which was sung by a choir.

Remarks were made by Dr. Anderson, from the West. The meeting concluded with a brief and simple prayer by Samuel Marshall, when the people took leave of one another with expressions of mutual goodwill."

In view of the fearfully convulsed state of the country, and the exceedingly complicated character of the war, we went to the Yearly Meeting at Longwood not a little apprehensive that there would be much difficulty in preparing a satisfactory Testimony on that subject, in consequence of conflicting opinions and judgments, arising from differences mental and temperamental; and also of the generally prevailing peace sentiments of that body; but we were very happily disappointed. There seemed to be remarkable clearness of vision, concurrence of judgment, and unity of spirit—neither extravagant hopefulness on the one hand, nor sombre misgiving on the other. There was no division of sentiment as to the imperative duty of the government to proclaim the jubilee without longer procrastination; and that duty was urgently but respectfully set forth in the Memorial to President Lincoln, which was adopted by the Society. It will be seen that the Testimony on Peace, though brief, is discriminating and unfaltering; and it fearlessly says that, "so far from the present warlike state of the country disproving the validity or saving power of peace principles, we are the more confirmed in the conviction, that it is solely their rejection which has involved our nation in the present conflict of blood, and that their adoption would forever render slavery and war impossible." But such an adoption must be

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

TRAGEDY OF SUCCESS. "Aux plus déshérités le plus d' amour." Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1862.

Under the above title is given to the world the concluding member of that remarkable trilogy of which the "Record of an Obscure Man" and the "Tragedy of Errors" have already preceded. Considering its scope, its poetical merits, and the almost fatal coincidences of its history, the whole constitutes a work undoubtedly without a parallel in literature. That quiet little fiction called the "Record," serving to pave the alley to the grand portals further on, drew at an opportune moment the eyes of a people, guilty for seventy years of consenting to the oppression of the blacks, to a humane contemplation of the brotherhood of their victims. The rebellion had just developed at one and the same time among the men of the North a consciousness of their ignorance on the subject of negro slavery, and a disposition favorable to the reception of light. The "Record," therefore, fell into ploughed ground, as it were, and must have borne fruit more than commensurate with its circulation. Our readers will remember what we said of it at the time of its publication,—needless to repeat here.

Of the "Tragedy of Errors" as a work we can speak but little, since (much to our regret) the Publishers have overlooked us in their distribution. We remember, however, the respectful treatment which it received even at the hands of those who scoffed at its subject and its aim, while none disputed the genius or the conscience with which it was essentially interwoven. It had still, aside from these considerations, a melancholy (we might almost say) public interest, from the fact that its issue from the press was coincident with that accursed "Tragedy of Errors" enacted at Ball's Bluff, which brought home to the afflicted authoress the body of her brave young soldier, fairest and all but earliest of the Demon's victims.

The closely following death of a beloved husband, to whose spiritual guardianship (in the present book) are commended

"These household growths that rose beneath thy smile
To be the earliest offering at thy grave,"

seems to have completed the fatality attaching to these remarkable productions, garbed half prophetically in tragic hue. What a mournful paradox—the "Tragedy of Success!"—yet needing no Rousseau to defend it, when a Jesus, a Wickliffe and a John Brown illustrate its truthfulness. The experience of centuries of tyranny is wrapt in the bitter exclamation of the repentant Dorcas,—

"O victim! thou hast triumphed!"

The "Tragedy of Success" is divided, after the fashion of its predecessor, into several periods, distinguished as the Sentence; the Appeal; the Flight; the Pursuit; the Rescue. Each part has its separate attraction and interest, and the whole a powerful unity which carried us through at a sitting, though needing here and there the "Tragedy of Errors" for a perfect comprehension of the actors. If any difficulty is experienced in conjuring up black faces behind the words attributed to them, let the reader consider if the names of the slaves alone be not in fault. In action and sentiment there is nothing forced or improbable. The whole book is full of beauty, and leaves no room for ennui from prelude to catastrophe. The humorous, the pathetic, the exciting, the sublime are all there. Dr. Hermann muses on the mixed parentage of Dorcas and Hecate, much as Edward Colvil used to in his journal, as given in the "Record." There are old proverbs aptly and ingeniously applied, with utterances that ought to be proverbs, and perhaps one day will be. We attempt no sketch of the plot, for our knowledge of the "Tragedy of Errors" is two incidental to admit of it, but we cannot refrain from quoting one or two striking passages which will only create a thirst for the whole in those "who have ears to hear."

Hecate, the mother of Helen, the heroine,—both slaves,—has just taken her last farewell of her fugitive daughter. The time is night; the scene, the margin of a forest. The speaker, "wrapt in a dark cloak, her hair dishevelled, stands bending forward, as if in the act of listening."

"HECATE.

I dare not follow! My ill-boding step
Would guide misfortune to her track!—I dare not!...
She is already far. Could my strong arm
Uphold her tender frame! Could my firm voice
Speak courage, when the loneliness and darkness
Press on her soul! Why am I not with her?
There is no other place for me on earth!...
Alone! alone! her hesitating step
Shrinks before fancied dangers, seeks the real!
Were I but there! How quick my sharpened eye
To seize the tokens on our winding route!
How prompt my ear to catch the sound of danger!...
Oh, stay thy step! 'Tis not a harmless branch
Thy heedless foot would press! Oh, were I there
To snatch the deadly reptile from thy path!...
Cool not thy thirst on that deceitful fruit!
It is thy foes' ally; it cheats to sleep
That will deliver thee to death or them!...
Hast thou forgot the landmarks? Yonder, see!
Is the black stump whose sole remaining arm
Points downward to the narrow turfy ridge,
The way of safety through the quaking bog!...
Further, the treacherous flood! how flat and still
It stretches out its tideless, waveless sea!
The giant growth that lifts from those dead waters
Its black luxuriance shrouds with moveless shade
Their slimy depths, accomplice of their guile!
About the margin of that stagnant ocean
Are set decoying vines, whose lusty stems
And wiry tendrils, hid in rank-grown leaves,
Far o'er the surface spread a tremulous bridge.
Her ignorant foot essays it! Hold thee back!
Oh! the next step is death!
Fly! fly! heed not
Whether thy pathway lie through fen or flood!
Fly, fly, poor loiterer! Hear'st thou not the tread,
Stealthy and swift, that follows on thy track?
It gains upon thee! Fly! the clutching hands
Are stretched to seize! almost they touch thee now!
Lost! lost!"

The following address of Helen to her child is tenderly poetical:—

"How oft, sweet sleeper, in my days of ease,
When I have carried thee a little hour
Through the smooth walks of what was then my garden,
My wearied arms have asked for aid!—and now
All night I walk the rugged, dreary road,
And in the daytime, crouching in some hollow,
Or hidden ... thicket's tangled depths,
I hold thee still, and hardly dare to catch
An hour of troubled sleep, lest I should wake
To find thee no more there,—yet, unfatigued
And strong of heart, I still hold on my way!"

The final scene concludes with a magnificent apostrophe to slavery, into which the widowed and childbereft authoress seems to have poured the heroic anguish of her suffering soul:—

"Tremble, thou coward Wrong that cradled'st me! *
Tremble! thy rearling knows thy hidden crimes!
Not thy crushed victim lifts his trembling hand
To aim the knife that seeks thy guilty heart:
Thy pampered minion deals th' avenging stroke!
For thy false smiles I give thee stern defiance!
Pay thee with scorn thy treacherous caresses!
By all these scars I wear upon my soul,
I vow to thee uncompromising war!
Put from thee now thy robes of gold and crimson,
Ungem thy hands, undiadem thy brow!
Thy hour of mourning comes, thy hour of shame!
I hear the spear of truth! Before its touch
Thy roses wither, thy false graces fall,
Leaving thee in thy lonely loathliness!
For even thy sycophants shall shrink from thee,
When the world knows thee as thy victims know!
Slavery, thy day is past! Nor think to fall
Crowned by thy doom, as fall more happy martyrs!
Thou shalt lie down to thy eternal sleep
In ignominy! Gentle hand of pity
Shall never strew thy bier, nor song and legend
Twine their bright wreaths round thy unseemly grave!
Turning away from thy reproach, thy nearest
Shall ask for thee the mercy of oblivion!"

* The speaker, Alice, is the child of slaveholding parents. W. P. G.

HON. GERRIT SMITH AT MUSIC HALL. On Sunday forenoon last, Hon. Gerrit Smith, of Peterboro', N. Y., delivered a very impressive discourse on the rebellion, and the greatly imperilled state of the country, through the all-absorbing corruption engendered by slavery. A large audience was present, and the sentiments advanced by this distinguished philanthropist elicited frequent expressions of applause. In the afternoon, Mr. Smith gave a scathing discourse on priestcraft, which he regarded as an evil and a curse of transcendant magnitude in every land. Long may his valuable life be preserved!

EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION.

BOSTON, June 9, 1862.

To the Editors of the Boston Daily Advertiser:

At my urgent request, Mr. Forbes has consented to the printing of the following letter. I have desired this in order to meet the statements of those who, after spending a few days at Beaufort or Hilton Head, have made sweeping statements that our enterprise has been a failure, the only foundation for such statements being a superficial observation of the condition of the negroes near our camps, most of whom being refugees from the main land, have no fixed abode and no opportunity for regular employment.

We have as yet no detailed statement of the number of acres planted in corn and cotton, under the direction of our teachers, or superintendents, as they should be called, but we are satisfied that it is over ten thousand.

The enlistment of many of the able-bodied hands may prevent the harvesting of the full crop planted, but an ample crop of food at least will be secured, and a large supply of fresh vegetables for the use of the army.

If this shall be all we succeed in accomplishing this year, it will be far more than enough to repay our efforts; and to secure this result we ask additional subscriptions, in order that we may not be obliged to withdraw our superintendents before the crops are gathered.

EDWARD ATKINSON,
Chairman Finance Committee.

BOSTON, May 23, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have yours of the 20th, and would gladly do anything (*except* come before the public) to help your good work.

I have watched the Educational Commission from its very inception, with the greatest interest, and while in Secessia had every opportunity to gauge it, not only by the criticisms of its many enemies, and by the statements of its friends, but by personal observation.

It was started very late, and when only the most prompt and even hasty measures gave it a chance of success.

A large number of Volunteers were hurried from various pursuits down into South Carolina, where in about ten days after the enterprise was first *thought of*, they found themselves landed, with bare floors to sleep upon, soldiers rations to eat, and the obloquy and ridicule of all around them for "sauce piquante."

Under all their inexperience and all these disadvantages they have worked their way quietly on, and up to the time when I left, 14th May, when the new rule of a Military Governor was about commencing, they had accomplished the following results:—

1st, and foremost, they had inspired confidence in the Blacks by their kindness, and especially by their bringing the first boon which these forlorn creatures have received from us, namely, an opportunity for rude education. In all else the Negroes had been worse provided than under their old masters, having only their scanty ration of Indian corn; no shoes, blankets, clothing, molasses, or other necessaries and luxuries given them, of which they formerly had a moderate allowance; against all this they had only the doubtful advantage of idleness or precarious employment, and the *promises* of the Cotton Agents.

It was a great point to put over them intelligent and Christian teachers, and this they have fully appreciated. It has made it comparatively easy to get

2d, the *material* benefits which have resulted, namely, beginning very late, the forces of the plantations have been organized to reasonably steady labor; a full crop of food has been planted in common, besides much larger private, or, as these are called, "*negro grounds*" planted than ever before.

I saw repeatedly whole gangs who had finished their plantation work by 10 A. M., and had all the rest of the day for their own patches, some of which are four or five times as large as usual. I also heard of many cases where the industrious complained of having to work with the lazy, and begged to be allowed to work on the plantation fields separately *where their work would show.*

3d. In addition to the food crop, enough cotton land has been planted to give the negroes, if they are allowed to take care of the crop and enjoy its fruits, more of the necessaries and indeed comforts of life than they have ever had before.

4th. All those engaged in the experiment will testify that the negro has the same selfish element in him which induces other men to labor, and that with a fair prospect of benefit, and sometimes merely for the credit of it, he will work like other human beings.

To sum up, we have then for some of the results,—
The confidence of the Blacks in us,
Our discovery that they will work,
The education conferred, so far as it goes,
The encouragement of industry, and
The material advantage of planting food and Cotton crops, instead of letting the negroes alone to run into vice and pauperism, or turning them over to the tender mercies of hard speculators.

Of course, the agents of the Commission have made mistakes in some cases, and some of them have been ill chosen, but as a whole it has been very judiciously managed, and most of its agents have by their patience, faithfulness and disinterested zeal, done credit to themselves and to those who sent them. They had everything to contend with, and especially the opposition of many whose interests they interfered with, and of others whose prejudices they offended.

The predecessors on the plantations, the Cotton Agents and the Military, had begun to look upon themselves as the successors of the Planters, and entitled to the use of all that was left,—houses, horses, negroes, crops.

When the agents of the commission came down to take charge of plantations, they were looked upon as interlopers, and in most cases every obstacle short of absolute disobedience to the orders of the commanding Generals was thrown in their way. All the little mistakes of the new comers were magnified; all the good they did ignored; and a local public opinion thus created against them, which many of our own people who ought to have known better gave in to.

"What a ridiculous thing for these philanthropists to come down to teach the stupid negroes, and occupy the plantations, and use the secesh ponies which had been so convenient for our picquets!" Such was the natural feeling of the unthinking, and of some who ought to have reflected.

This false public opinion was largely availed of by the *Herald* and other kindred papers to create prejudice at the North against an enterprise aiming to improve the condition of the blacks.

How much more satisfactory it would have been to this class to have had the negroes left to their own devices, and thus given all the enemies of improvement a chance to say, "We told you so! the negroes are worse off than before,—idle, vicious paupers,—the sooner you reduce them to slavery again, and the more firmly you bind the rest of their race to eternal slavery, the better!"

It would take too long to go into the question of what is to be done hereafter; but there was an emergency three months ago, which has in my opinion been successfully met. Doubtless, hereafter, the selfish element must be appealed to more than it could be by the Agents of the Commission, who had to improve their short planting season by continuing the established system of labor in gangs; of course, a permanent system must have less work in common, and more for the particular benefit of each laborer.

In conclusion, I consider the Educational Commission, up to this time, *a decided success. They have planted:* it rests with General Saxton to determine whether their crops shall be gathered, their teachings and their good influences over the Blacks continued; from him while there, as well as from all the superior military officers, they received every assistance, which is a good augury for the future military rule.

However this may turn, you and your associates have made a good beginning; you have done your part towards one of the noblest experiments which modern civilization has undertaken, by inaugurating a system of free labor combined with instruction for the freed slaves upon *their native soil.*

With my best wishes,
I am yours truly,
J. M. FORBES.

Mr. Edward Atkinson, Sec'y Educational Commission.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND EMANCIPATION.

WORCESTER, June 14, 1862.

MR. GARRISON—There are some individuals, genuine anti-slavery at heart, who doubt if it would be a wise or safe policy to decree immediate emancipation at present, lest the people would be divided, and fail to sustain such a course. Where is the warrant for such a supposition? We cannot know for a certainty until it is tried, any way; and, leaving out of view the moral truth, that justice and expediency are always synonymous terms, let us look at the indications as leaning most for or against such a policy.

Before the rebellion broke out, it was supposed, both North and South, that, in case of a disruption, the Democratic party, as a body, would go with the South; but, instead of that, the leading ones were among the foremost to demand the extinction of slavery, if need be, to put down the rebellion. I believe that, at the beginning of the war, if the President had seen fit to decree a proclamation of emancipation as a means of subduing it, he would have been sustained by the North. Had he done it, he would have been the greatest man, politically, this nation has ever produced.

Of course, there would have been howlings all over the land from certain sources, as there will be whenever it is done, which may for a time drown the anthems of praise, because it is the last wrestle between the angel Gabriel and Beelzebub; but that will not prove that Gabriel is not triumphant. We have seen this tried in the District of Columbia; and probably no one thinks it a master of regret that an act has been passed abolishing slavery there. It shows, for one thing, the impossibility of effecting any thing towards a settlement of this question short of immediate and unconditional emancipation.

We are in the vortex of the whirlpool, and, God be thanked, He alone can deliver us out of it. Whoever thinks we have reached the crisis will probably find himself mistaken. The death-grapple is yet to come.

That the people are not anti-slavery enough to demand emancipation is true, because it is not done. Whether they would sustain the President in assuming the responsibility himself, is quite another thing. The masses never assume responsibilities; they only take them when cast upon them. The unparalleled confidence they repose in the President warrants such an anticipation, at least. Nothing else could have suppressed the ardor with which they welcomed the proclamation of Fremont; and when he annulled that of Gen. Hunter, they stood by him, still believing that he has a plan of his own, by which he will himself do the same thing in a few days. I do not believe it. He probably does not know himself what he shall do; but that it will be his last resort, as a matter of dire necessity, is pretty evident. I would heap on him no unmerited censure; for, certainly, never was a man placed in a more trying position; or in greater need of a wife's sympathy and aid, which he does not get. Neither has he the qualities, probably, to foresee the critical position of the nation, or realize the immense interests at stake; or he would not trifle with the lives and destinies of twenty-five millions of people as he now does.

Every hour of delay weakens the chances of a united North, because the opposing party are taking advantage of every moment to counteract the impulses of the people; and to some extent they have succeeded.

So far as the slave is concerned, it matters little, perhaps, whether he is set free by Lincoln or Davis; and, for aught I know, one will be just as deserving of credit as the other for the act; but, as a nation, it will make a vast difference to us. It is a question of the strength and superiority of republican institutions for the welfare of the masses, which makes this hour one of momentous importance, as the decisive one upon which hangs our destiny, for us so to shape it that posterity will either curse or bless us, according to the use made of the opportunities.

The greatest responsibility devolves upon the President, because he alone has the power, in his individual capacity, to strike the blow. There are too many wills in the Cabinet and Congress to bring about unity of action sufficient for the crisis. It may be truly said, at the present time, that no man has thrown such insuperable obstacles in the way of our triumph, or so embarrassed the operations of the army, as he—thus inspiring courage in the rebels, and protracting the war. But for him, a responsive "Aye" would have gone up throughout the Commonwealth to the sentiments of Gov. Andrew, as expressed in his letter. It is certainly cause of rejoicing, that a Massachusetts Governor has courage to rebuke the President of the United States; and may he never falter from his manly course! The Boston *Journal* rebuked him, but it could scarcely conceal its chagrin, that Gen. Hunter's order should be revoked, although careful not to censure Lincoln for doing it.

I am not complaining of this loyalty; for when men's passions are excited, as they must be in time of war, the result would be disastrous in the extreme if they did not recognize some head to whom they must yield allegiance. The necessity of the hour is to spur the President on to emancipation; and every person who makes the admission, that it is not yet time, does just so much to retard it. How are you going to free them, say they, before you get at them? Did not Gen. Hunter get at them? and has not opportunity after opportunity been thrown away, which, if improved, might ere this have paved the way to the freedom of every slave throughout the land? If, when the Capital was threatened, President Lincoln had said to the South, "When I took the oath of office, I pledged myself to protect you in the enjoyment of your slave property to the uttermost verge of my power; but, now that you have forfeited your rights under the Constitution, by seeking the overthrow of the Government that has protected you, I now declare every slave free," does any one suppose that it would have cost any more blood and treasure to enforce such a decree than it has already cost to subdue the masters? Then we should have had the sympathy of the whole civilized world, which would have known what we were fighting for, and the consciousness that it was the most righteous cause for which a war was ever waged. But he let slip the golden hour, and for him the golden sands are nearly run. What right has he to entail a single hour of needless suffering on the patient and confiding North? I know that the people are very far from being governed by principle in this matter. The conscience of the North has been so long slumbering under the narcotic influence of the drug, that it is only drowsily waking from the torpor, and as yet, perhaps, cannot clearly comprehend any farther than to welcome Parson Brownlow for his defence of the Union, in opposition to the slaveholding oligarchy of the South. Even he, on reaching New England, leaves out his phrase about the hundred abolitionists, for which I am sorry for one thing, wishing to know what reception it would meet with here. Our spacious hall was densely packed, as might be expected, from the innate love of the people to see a lion and hear him roar; and the Mayor complimented him, and the audience greeted his rising with enthusiastic applause. But what of that? In war time, whatever goes to the disparagement of the enemy is applauded, except one thing in certain places, and both the thing and the place were wanting here. Even with that vast audience, his remarks were greeted with no more applause than those of Wendell Phillips last winter. I feel bound to make this statement, because the same paper that so misrepresented the fact then, might, by its opposite course now, create a wrong impression; although it seems almost like profanity to institute a comparison. Never in my whole lifetime did I hear so much slang, such utter repudiation of moral perception, such unmasked blasphemy, as was poured forth in that one hour and a half. He is a fair sample of Southern civilization, and perhaps his visit North may be a benefit to him. Of course, Governors and Mayors will toast him,—that is a part of their function, for which they are elected. I do not believe that, in his heart, Gov. Andrew has a particle of respect for him, excepting the sympathy his sufferings have enlisted, farther than as a convenient hobby-horse for showing up Southern barbarity. This may not be very complimentary to his integrity, but that always passes at a discount in high places. He would probably defend it on the same principle that our friend Buffum said he would like to introduce him, because he would show up the rebels in stronger terms than any one else. I think it was a great concession of principle on his part, as an Abolitionist, to descend to such low means for the promotion of our cause. This reminds me of what another uncompromising friend said, that if I would go into the lecturing field for three weeks, he could show me that a majority of our own Society endorsed just such views. I am very sorry to hear it; still recognizing the fundamental principle with which we started, that only through pure and righteous means shall we be justified in seeking the overthrow of any wrong.

On the other hand, I cannot see how, as Abolitionists, we are responsible for the motives and methods through which men come at length to a practical recognition of our ideas. Of course, if we have any patriotism and love of justice, for the sake of our country we would gladly pray, on bended knees, that this righteous act might be done for the love of it; but, if driven to it by the logical course of events, rather than by conscientious convictions, we must accept it as one of the means through which God vindicates the cause of the oppressed when there is no helper, moulding us by his sovereign will like clay in the hands of the potter. War is no time for the successful culture of moral principles, only for a choice of measures; and emancipation for any motive will be gladly welcomed as the first thing in order, even on our own platform. Prejudice against the negro will exist so long as he belongs to an enslaved race. When the shackles of the slave are broken, new duties will devolve on us, of which we are little conscious. A regeneration of social life, and a reconstruction of every department of the political fabric then required, will be sufficient to engage the attention of this generation, when, as heretofore, we shall be called upon to battle with formidable odds, in order to secure and maintain his equal rights against the obstacles two centuries of enslavement have imbedded in the pathway of his progress. S. E. W.

LETTER FROM DR. J. M. HAWKS.

On board steamer Potomac, making her voyage from Edisto to Hilton Head, South Carolina, June 7th, 1862.

EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR:

In the two months just gone, I have seen and heard many things that would interest your readers. I frequently resolve that I will write a few lines for your paper, giving an account of incidents that occur, but find myself too busy during the day, and too tired at night. The leisure afforded by this trip I shall improve in writing to you and other friends.

These sea islands are the gardens of the South; and as far as I have seen, Edisto is the garden of the sea islands. The former white residents of this island had finer houses and gardens, better cultivated and better fenced plantations, better roads, more bridges, churches, libraries, and such like evidences of civilization and prosperity, than any other district I have seen of similar extent in the slaveholding region. The houses are nothing extra; in fact shams, when compared with houses of the same pretensions North. They are only splendid when seen alongside of Southern houses generally. I record with pleasure that the negro cabins are mostly better than usual. On the Townsend place where I have been staying, some of the cabins have two rooms, one of which is used for a sleeping room; there are also, in some cabins, two panes of glass over the little board windows. Now, I assure you, it is very rare for a slave family to have more than one room; but to have the light of heaven shining into their rooms, whether one or more, through a pane of glass, is a luxury not enjoyed off the sea islands, and rarely here. On the plantation above named is a steam saw-mill; and cotton gins were propelled by the same power.

A great deal more pains have been taken to render the surroundings of residences ornamental, than to make them useful. Flower gardens here, in addition to all that will grow farther North, have growing in the open air the japonica, the oleander, the numerous varieties of geranium, and other plants exotic at the North. The petunia, coreopsis, flox, cactus and verbena are in many places common field weeds. But the queen of wild flowers is the magnolia, with its large, fragrant and snow-white petals.

I have not time to say anything more of the country than that it was better than its former occupants deserved, and they voluntarily cleared out and left it, taking along their more light and valuable household goods, and that most uncertain species of property, their slaves.

Of the thirteen or fourteen hundred colored inhabitants now on the Edisto Island, not a dozen were "born and raised" here. They are from all the islands around here now in possession of the rebels, viz. John's, James, Wadmalaw, and the "Main." Although unlettered, these people are naturally intelligent, and the children learn readily in the schools we have started. We are hardly in working order yet, in the educational line; we want books, and the kind needed is the primer or spelling-book.

The alphabet and a few monosyllables are readily taught to a whole school from cards; after that, primary books are needed. I have become interested in a school I have several times visited, containing some thirty-five scholars. The teacher is a black man, who can read tolerably well. On my first visit, he gave his name as Cyrus. In reply to inquiries about any other name, he said that when a young man, he had some pride, and wanted another name; and he took the name of White. I asked if that was his master's name. He said it was not, but he liked it, and took it. Then I told him how his wife and children must be known by that name; and when asked again for his name, to give it in full—Cyrus White. He gave his age as sixty-two years; this he knew by being about the age of a "young master"; but it seems that his young master died about eight years ago, at the age of sixty-two, since which time, our schoolmaster had not added anything to his age! As near as the age of the blacks can be ascertained, Cyrus White is now seventy years old. The only books in the school are two spelling-books. A grandson of the teacher, about ten years of age, who can read in easy sentences, assists in teaching the other children. I have promised to get him some books. Two hundred spelling-books are needed now on Edisto Island alone, to supply schools nearly as destitute as this just named. In my school, on the Townsend plantation, of forty scholars, we have nine books. The school is opened at six o'clock every morning, to allow time for me to attend to other duties through the day. The six superintendents on the island are all from New England, except one, Mr. DeLacroix, native of Louisiana—a queer place to look to find Abolitionists! But he is one. The plantations now occupied, and partially worked, were selected with reference to their nearness to the Edisto river, in which the Federal gunboats are stationed. The safety of the superintendents and blacks decreases as the troops are moved away.

The duties of superintendents toward the negroes are simply advisory. The negroes know how to do the work, and on every plantation there is one selected as "driver" or foreman; generally, this is one who has acted in that capacity before. The foreman does not work with the other hands. Now, the disadvantages of the present state of things are these:—1st. The blacks don't know yet, whether they own themselves or not. 2d. They have never been offered wages on the plantations. All we are authorized to do is to encourage the negroes to work by promises that, if they work well, they will be paid something in the fall. No white man would work without a better understanding; and I must say that, all things considered, these negroes work *too well.* More insubordination, and absolute refusal to work without pay, would be more hopeful.

We all regret that Mr. Pierce, the excellent Special Agent of the Treasury Department, is to leave the field; but we are encouraged that he is to be succeeded by Gen. Saxton, who is believed to be just the man for the place, and is vested with higher authority than his predecessor.

I don't think strange that President Lincoln annulled General Hunter's proclamation. Mr. Lincoln wishes to reserve to himself the honor, as he undoubtedly has the right to do, of proclaiming emancipation to all the slaves in the rebel States.

Yours for the Right, J. M. HAWKS.

P. S. *Beaufort, June 8th,* 6 A. M. Our pickets at Port Royal Ferry have been driven in; the rebels are reported to be landing in force; and every *white* male citizen is ordered to report at the armory, where they will be furnished with arms. J. M. H.

SENATOR SUMNER AND THE PRESIDENT.

We are permitted (says the Boston *Journal*) to publish the following private letter from Hon. Charles Sumner, in reply to a letter addressed to him by a personal friend:—

SENATE CHAMBER, June 5, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your criticism of the President is hasty. I am confident that, if you knew him as I do, you would not make it.

Of course, the President cannot be held responsible for the misfeasances of subordinates, unless adopted or at least tolerated by him. And I am sure that nothing unjust or ungenerous will be tolerated, much less adopted by him.

I am happy to let you know that he has no sympathy with Stanly in his absurd wickedness, closing the schools, nor again in his other act of turning our camps into a hunting ground for slaves. He repudiates both—positively. The latter point has occupied much of his thought, and the newspapers have not gone too far in recording his repeated declarations, which I have often heard from his own lips, that slaves finding their way within the national lines are never to be re-enslaved. This is his conviction, expressed without reserve.

Could you have seen the President—as it was my privilege often—while he was considering the great questions on which he has already acted—the invitation to emancipation in the States, emancipation in the District of Columbia, and the acknowledgment of the independence of Hayti and Liberia, even your zeal would have been satisfied, for you would have felt the sincerity of his purpose to do what he could to carry forward the principles of the Declaration of Independence. His whole soul was occupied, especially by the first proposition, which was peculiarly his own. In familiar intercourse with him, I remember nothing more touching than the earnestness and completeness with which he embraced this idea. To his mind it was just and beneficent, while it promised the sure end of slavery. Of course, to me, who had already proposed a Bridge of Gold for the retreating fiend, it was most welcome. Proceeding from the President, it must take its place among the great events of history.

If you are disposed to be impatient at any seeming shortcomings, think, I pray you, of what has been done in a brief period, and from the past discern the sure promise of the future. Knowing something of my convictions, and the ardor with which I maintain them, you may, perhaps, derive some assurance from my confidence. I say to you, therefore, stand by the Administration. If need be, help it by word and act, but stand by it, and have faith in it.

I wish that you really knew the President, and had heard the artless expression of his convictions on those questions which concern you so deeply. You might, perhaps, wish that he were less cautious, but you would be grateful that he is so true to all that you have at heart. Believe me, therefore, you are wrong, and I regret it the more because of my desire to see all our friends stand firm together.

If I write strongly, it is because I feel strongly, for my constant and intimate intercourse with the President, beginning with the 4th of March, not only binds me peculiarly to his Administration, but gives me a personal as well as a political interest in seeing that justice is done him.

Believe me, my dear sir,
With much regard,
Ever faithfully yours,
CHARLES SUMNER.

☞ We sincerely trust that Mr. Sumner is not unduly sanguine of what may be expected of the President; yet we are apprehensive that he is.

FIENDISH OUTRAGE ON HUMANITY.

The correspondent of the Chicago *Journal,* five miles north of the crossing of the Little Red River, on the Des Arc Road, May 23, says:—

"I must hasten to tell you of one of the most diabolical deeds, perpetrated near our present camp lately, that has blackened the pages of the history of this infernal rebellion. Gen. Osterhaus with his division was in advance of the army, and had reached the crossing of the Little Red River on the road from Batesville to Des Arc, and was encamped on the north side of the river, while their engineers were constructing bridges and other works, and on last Monday a forage party was sent out about two or three miles to the southeast, under the protection of detachments from company F, Lieut. Fischer; company G, Captain Wilhelm; and company H, Lieut. Nein, in all about 60 men of the 17th Missouri Infantry, and while companies F and G were guarding the wagons while loading, company H was sent out as a picket about two miles, where they were attacked by a band of between five and six hundred, and before they could be reenforced by the others, the whole of them were either killed or wounded, except one man.

Seven or eight were killed at the first fire, and eight more of the wounded were either shot, stabbed, or their throats cut, after they were entirely helpless from wounds, and in many cases had asked for mercy, but were told that they neither asked nor gave any quarter. This was done very speedily, the rebels carrying off their wounded with them. As soon as this was know in camp, a surgeon and ambulances were sent out to take care of the wounded men, and next morning the surgeon was found hung to a tree, and literally hacked to pieces by sabers. This surgeon, whose name I could not learn, was assistant to Dr. Lyon, brother of the brave and lamented General Nathaniel Lyon, who fell at the battle of Wilson's Creek, in Missouri, in August last. This Dr. Lyon is Surgeon to the 'Lyon Legion,' (3rd Missouri.) But this chapter of barbarian atrocities is not yet quite full. The Drum-Major of the 17th Missouri, who had for some reason accompanied the expedition, was found murdered, and his ears cut off close to his head, and his tongue cut by the roots.

I have part of this account from the Surgeon of the 19th Missouri, who was hindered from going to the scene of slaughter himself; but a splendid case of surgical instruments and packages of assorted bandages, and everything else necessary for immediate use, in case of battle, belonging to him, were with the ambulances, and fell into the hands of the fiends. The horses of the ambulances were taken and the ambulances themselves broken up. A part of this story I have from one of the wounded men, who was himself shot in the bowels, after asking for mercy. Lieut. Nein, after having surrendered, was shot by his captor, with his own pistol, which he had just given up, the ball lodging in his shoulder instead of his head, for which it was intended. The whole number killed and murdered is seventeen, and over thirty others wounded. A large force was dispatched to try and take this band, but have not yet succeeded in doing so. They were part of them Texan Rangers, and part of them Butternuts, all under the command of 'Hicks' and 'McKeel.'"

TREACHERY OF A WOUNDED REBEL. At the recent battle of Fair Oaks a rebel soldier, wounded, was taken to the hospital tent. His arm was amputated by the senior surgeon, who being called off to attend a case of much importance left the dressing of the arm to be attended to by a surgeon (son of a late eminent physician not a thousand miles from Boston, and by whom these particulars are personally communicated in a letter to his friends, but for good reasons his name is suppressed.) The surgeon left the wounded man a moment. The wounded rebel seized the knife which still lay on the table, and concealed it. The surgeon returned, and tried to make the rebel as easy as possible. The rebel drew forth the amputating knife, and aiming at the heart of his preserver, would have fatally stabbed him had he not parried the blow with his arm which received the knife. Drawing his pistol from his belt with the other arm the surgeon killed him instantly, as he lay upon the operating board.—*Boston Traveller.*

IMPENDING FAMINE IN ARKANSAS. The St. Louis *Democrat* has intelligence that unless assistance is soon provided, the people of Arkansas, north of the Arkansas river, must soon starve. All the beef cattle had been driven off to the rebel army, and an unusual rise in the streams had flooded the towns and plantations.

WOMAN AND THE PRESS.

On Friday afternoon, May 30, a meeting was held in Studio Building, Boston, for conference in regard to a new periodical to be devoted to the interests of Woman. While none questioned the value and the need of such an instrument in the Woman's Rights cause, the difficulties that would endanger or even defeat the enterprise were fully discussed, but with this issue—that the experiment should be made. For the furtherance, therefore, of so desirable an object, we insert and call attention to the following

PROSPECTUS OF THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL:

When we consider that there is scarcely a party, sect, business organization or reform which is not represented in the press, it appears strange that women, constituting one half of humanity, should have no organ, in America, especially devoted to the promotion of their interests, particularly as these interests have excited more wide-spread attention in this country than in any other, while in no other country can the double power of free speech and a free press be made so effective in their behalf. This appears stranger from the fact that conservative England has successfully supported a journal of this sort for years with acknowledged utility.

America needs such a journal to centralize and give impetus to the efforts which are being made in various directions to advance the interests of woman. It needs it most of all at this time, when the civil war is calling forth the capabilities of woman in an unwonted degree, both as actors and sufferers—when so many on both sides are seen to exert a most potent influence over the destinies of the nation, while so many others are forced by the loss of husbands, sons and brothers, to seek employment for the support of themselves and families. Social problems, too, are gradually becoming solved by the progress of events, which will leave to that of woman the most prominent place henceforth.

To meet this want of the times, we propose to establish a WOMAN'S JOURNAL, based on the motto, "Equal Rights for all Mankind," and designed especially to treat of all questions pertaining to the interests of women, and to furnish an impartial platform for the free discussion of these interests in their various phases. It will aim to collect and compare the divers theories promulgated on the subject, to chronicle and centralize the efforts made in behalf of women, in this country and elsewhere, and to render all possible aid to such undertakings, while at the same time it will neglect no field of intellectual effort or human progress of general interest to men of culture. It will comprise reviews of current social and political events, articles on literature, education, hygiene, etc., a *feuilleton,* composed chiefly of translations from foreign literature—in short, whatever may contribute to make it a useful and entertaining family paper. Its columns will be open, and respectful attention insured, to all thinkers on the subjects of which it treats, under the usual editorial discretion, only requiring that they shall accept, *a priori,* the motto of the paper, and shall abstain from all personal discussion.

Among the contributors already secured to the *Journal* whom we are permitted to name, are Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, Mrs. Caroline M. Severance, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mrs. Frances D. Gage, Miss Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, George Wm. Curtis, T. W. Higginson, Moncure D. Conway, Theodore Tilton, and William H. Channing; and other distinguished writers have promised us their aid. No pains will be spared to enlist the best talent in the country, and to make the paper one of literary merit as well as practical utility.

The *Journal* will be issued semi-monthly, in octavo form, sixteen pages, at Two Dollars per annum, the first number appearing on the 1st of October next, and will be published in Boston.

Subscriptions will be received from this date by agents of the *Journal,* or by the Editors, Roxbury, Mass., lockbox 2, to be paid on the receipt of the first number of the *Journal.* In this connection, we would earnestly solicit the co-operation of friends of woman throughout the country, in extending the subscription list of the *Journal,* and thus placing it on that permanent basis which will insure its continued utility and success. Those interested in the enterprise are respectfully requested to communicate with the editors at the above address.

A discount of twenty-five per cent. will be made to agents.

Agents will please return all prospectuses with names before the 15th of July.

MARY L. BOOTH,
MARIE E. ZAKRZEWSKA, M. D.

Boston, May 15, 1862.

☞ NASHUA, N. H.—PARKER PILLSBURY will give two addresses on "The Country and the Times," in Nashua, (N. H.) Town Hall, on Sunday afternoon and evening, 22d instant, at the usual hours of public assembly.

☞ HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture in Liberty Hall, Harwich, forenoon and afternoon, Sunday, June 22d. Subject—"What God hath put asunder, let not man put together—Slavery and Liberty."

☞ AARON M. POWELL will speak upon the War and Slavery, at Washington, N. Y., Sunday, June 22.

☞ The P. O. address of MRS. CAROLINE H. DALL is changed from No. 5 Ashland Place, to *Medford, Mass.*

Books, pamphlets, and matters requiring literary attention, may be left with Walker, Wise & Co., 245 Washington street, Boston.

☞ New York *Anti-Slavery Standard* and New York *Christian Inquirer,* please copy.

Medford, June 15, 1862.

☞ NOTICE.—All communications relating to the business of the *Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,* and with regard to the Publications and Lecturing Agencies of the *American Anti-Slavery Society,* should be addressed for the present to SAMUEL MAY, Jr., 221 Washington St., Boston.

☞ SUMMER RESORT—ROUND HILL HOTEL, NORTHAMPTON, Mass.—Beautiful scenery, mountain air, and forty acres of forest park, with first class accommodations, free from dust and other annoyances. Terms—$1.50 per day, or 7 to $10 per week.

☞ HANDBILLS of the Fourth of July Celebration at Framingham Grove have been sent to friends in many places, who will please help forward the meeting by posting them in their respective towns.

☞ REMOVAL.—DISEASES OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.—MARGARET B. BROWN, M. D., and WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., have removed to No. 23, Chauncy Street, Boston, where they may be consulted on the above diseases. Office hours, from 10, A. M., to 4 o'clock, P. M. 3m March 28.

☞ MERC

For the Liberator.

THE SOLDIER'S LETTER.

"From your Ed"——
That was all of it I read:
Had there been no other word,
All her being 'twould have stirred.
Think not that, with curious eye,
Such fond missive I would spy;
Only these three words I read—
"From your Ed."

"From your Ed"——
Tenderly the words I read.
From the field of bloody strife,
Where full many a brave, young life
For our holy cause is given;—
Ah! they wait in yonder heaven;
Fallen, we'll not count as *dead*,
Such as Ed.

"From your Ed"——
Lighter grows the maiden's tread:
Ah! thank God, he's living yet!
Tears of joy her eyelids wet.
And her woman's heart beats fast:
'Gainst the letter, come at last,
Her sweet lips press that, instead
Of her Ed.

"From your Ed"——
Ah! her cheek is growing red:
He who penned that missive brief,
Could he guess her glad relief?
She has seen in dreams, at night,
Upturned faces, ghastly white;
Yet her brave, though girlish heart
Ever hides its cruel smart;
Hints not love is mixed with dread
For her Ed.

"From your Ed"——
Who the far-off shores must tread
Of that sunny, sin-cursed land,
Where our noble, patriot band
Seek the tyrant to o'erthrow,
While the hearts that love them so
Bleed, as that young heart has bled,
For her Ed.

"From your Ed"——
We are strangers,—yet I said,
Angels, guard him safe from harm,
Keep his heart all true and warm,
Bring him safely back once more!
Then, all doubts and heart-ache o'er,
May that gentle maiden wed
With her Ed.

Sherborn, June 3, 1862. E. D. MORSE.

For the Liberator.

PUT OUT THE LIGHT!

Written on reading that the Military Governor of North Carolina had forbidden the education of the Negroes.

Put out the light! ye know it does not suit
Oppression's purpose that the light should shine:
If man ye would degrade into a brute,
Ye must crush out the soul—that part divine;
Ye must extinguish even the faintest ray
Of knowledge, lest it burst upon his mind—
Lest it illumine with the blaze of day
The soul encompassed with death's gloom Go, bind
(Soul-strangling Thugs!) your fetters round him tight;
And bid your servile tools put out the light!

Put out the light! Tyrants, blot out the sun,
And quench the brilliancy of every star;
Drag down the Omnipotent from his high throne—
Justice annihilate! then none shall war
Against the wrong. Oppression, born of hell,
Dark, grim and terrible, shall rule o'er all,
The crown'd and sceptred; and his baleful spell
All living things shall feel—his cursed thrall
Shall bind the Universe; all fair things blight:—
Ye who can wish for this, put out the light!

Andover. RICHARD HINCHCLIFFE.

TO GERRIT SMITH.

Written on reading his Speech before the Judiciary Committee of the New York Legislature, Feb. 3, 1862.

I dare not speak of thee, in idle rhyming,
As one might of another;—
Thou, whose great soul with all things good is chiming,
The world's most loving brother!

Thou, in whose heart the most melodious measures
Keep sweetest tune and time;
Yet I have nought, from all my little treasures,
To give thee but my rhyme.

For, when my heart with beautiful emotion
Is lifted high, and higher,
Thrilled with thy thoughts, from o'er the Alps and ocean,
As with electric fire—

It is but meet to find some sweet oblation,
With reverence to bring
Unto thy feet, thou living revelation
Of what the mountains sing!

And I have nothing, save a little blossom
Gathered beneath the snow,
Upon St. Gothard's palpitating bosom,
Where Alpine roses blow.

Beyond a thousand dimpling dells and fountains,
I see the glaciers gleam—
O'er the white vesture of the Alpine mountains
Eternal rainbows beam.

I look—the hills are towering in the distance,
Where the immortal Three
Swore a great oath, that, with the Lord's assistance,
Their country should be free.

And the Alps heard it, while at their foundations
The very roses smiled—
They thought how God had given to the nations
The freedom they defiled.

Therefore, a little Alpine flower I find thee—
A messenger of light—
Unfolden on the mountains to remind thee
It is not always night.

The buds of freedom, through thy spirit breaking,
Begin to burst in bloom,
And Liberty shall have its full awaking
O'er Slavery's tearless tomb.

Thy life has been a beautiful evangel
To all the weak and lowly;
For the oppressed thou art a guardian angel—
A psalter high and lowly.

The soul of Switzerland upsprings to meet thee;
She stretches out her hand
Across the mountains and the seas, to greet thee,
And lure thee to her land.

Zurich, (Switzerland.) MARY H. C. BOOTH.

PATRIOTISM.

'Tis not a local spot of earth,
That, in the patriot's breast, has worth;
'Tis not a section—East or West,
Or North or South—that he loves best.
No! 'tis his country, as a whole,
That claims allegiance of his soul!
And what's a country? 'T is not land,
With climate either stern or bland.
It is not hills, vales, streams and trees,
But of far greater worth than these.
It is a people's aggregate;
A commonweal—of low and great;
A nation—based on human claims
To life, to freedom, and to aims
For highest happiness for all,
Unchecked by tyranny and thrall.
'Tis where just laws o'er all preside;
Where arts and sciences abide;
Where every one, by honest toil,
Sees plenty round his homestead smile.
'Tis where the pulpit, press, and school
Enlighten, and to virtue rule.
'Tis where true liberty abides—
Licentiousness instinctive hides.
'Tis where with pride men contemplate
The annals of forefathers great;
While gratitude and love arise,
And woo their spirits in the skies,
To prompt and guide to deeds like theirs,
And mediate the Patriot's prayers.

The Liberator.

THE WEST AND THE WAR.

A SERMON,

Delivered before the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society, at Music Hall, Boston, June 8, 1862.

BY REV. DANIEL FOSTER.

"In understanding be men."—1 *Cor.* 14: 20.

This exhortation, addressed by one of the great-hearted and resolute reformers of his day, to those who were struggling after the true life, is always appropriate, and *peculiarly* so to ourselves, now in the midst of a desperate contest for a free and united fatherland. If we are to succeed in this struggle, we must do it by the influence of a manhood broad in apprehending our situation, and unflinching in adherence to Justice and Right.

It is seven years since the attempted seizure of Kansas by the propagandists of slavery broke up the old political parties, and aroused the whole nation to a sense of an "irrepressible conflict" between Freedom and Slavery. Hitherto, the Slave Power had been always victorious. God's prophets and apostles did not cease, day nor night, to lift up their voice, telling the people of their sins, and calling to immediate repentance. And although to self-seeking, blinded politicians it seemed but a "rub-a-dub agitation" which they excited, it was nevertheless true that God's word, through the despised Abolitionists, was "sharper than a two-edged sword," and mightier than Church or Party or State. Before the might of that word the great men, the leaders of our political parties, have gone down in hopeless defeat to their graves; parties have been dissolved, churches destroyed, and the nation revolutionized.

You remember well the fear all true men felt, when Kansas was opened by the Government to the meditated invasion of the Slave Power, lest another Slave State would be made on her broad and fertile prairies, and that in spite of all that the friends of Freedom could do. You all thank God to-day, that He has shown us the inherent weakness of Slavery and the might of Freedom, through the very measure we so much dreaded,—designed as it was to perpetuate and extend the dominion of the Slave Power in the councils of the Government. Hardy freemen from the Northern and Western States, with Bible and rifle in hand, went to Kansas to find there a home, well knowing that schools, and churches, and prosperous industry, and a free press—essential to *their* home—could not coëxist with slavery, and therefore determined that slavery should not be established in Kansas. Nor did such men come only from the *Free* States. Judge Conway, the Representative of Kansas in Congress, and one of the ablest as well as truest men in the service of Freedom,—Col. Montgomery, whose name is a terror to the slaveholding rebels of Missouri, and many others in humble life whom I know very well as uncompromising in their hatred of slavery,—came to the scene of the all-important strife from the South. They knew from bitter experience, better than we could from theory, the treason and crime of slavery.

Five years ago I went to Kansas, there to labor as a radical Abolitionist; not only to get a home for my family, not only to build up there a true Christian church, but to inspire the people, as far as I might, with an irresistible resolution to wrest that fair heritage from the grasp of the Slave Power. And as I pause to-day, and look over the events that crowd these years, so full of great results, I am lost in wonder at the victory Freedom has won there, and at the consequences of that victory to our country and the world. The first three months of my residence I spent in the service of the Free State cause in taking the census of Southern Kansas. They were months of arduous toil, of danger, of great privation, unrecompensed, save by the consciousness of well-doing. And yet the lessons of that experience I shall never forget. I met the pioneers of Kansas in their log cabins and in conventions, when the great question of interest always was, "How can we defeat the border ruffians and the Government officials in their efforts to fasten slavery upon us?" Ever and anon, the most illiterate "squatter" would grow eloquent, as the great thoughts touching a common and universal humanity roused to its intensest force the life within him. Those noble aims and grand purposes which first showed the world the hero of our age, in the simple-hearted old man, who lived only to destroy slavery, and for that end cheerfully died on the gallows at Charlestown, were felt by many of the humble pioneers of Kansas; and thereby Kansas was enabled to present so firm a front against slavery that Freedom triumphed, in spite of all the Government at Washington could do to aid the Slave Power in gaining possession of the new State.

In Kansas, the slaveholders first openly attempted to accomplish their purposes in direct violation of all legal forms. They sought by brute force to execute the behests of Missouri lodges of border ruffians upon the freemen of Kansas. It was the commencement of that great revolution, amidst the throes of which American slavery is about to be destroyed. It was a great school in which a new order of statesmanship was taught. Whigs and Democrats became, there, unknown terms. All men were openly arrayed in favor of slavery to be established by force and fraud, or against its establishment in Kansas. The next step was inevitable, and taken at once—to wit, that slavery was detestable everywhere. So when John Brown went with his chosen band, and took a dozen slaves from Missouri, and marched openly with them through Kansas, he found himself in the midst of a people who would not permit the United States Marshal and his posse to interfere with this "organized emancipation." Capt. Brown felt no fears for the safety of his dark-skinned proteges till he got into Iowa, and there found a *Democratic* party, the members of which called him a thief, and as such tried, some of them, to arrest him. In that Kansas school, Jim Lane was changed from a hoosier Democrat into an Abolitionist. There have been thousands of such "remarkable conversions" in Kansas, which we would earnestly commend to the attention of the Publishing Committee of the American Tract Society. But the attempt to enslave Kansas signally failed. Its failure ingulphed the great Democratic party, and destroyed the prestige of the South, as the Russian campaign did that of the Great Napoleon. From the election of James Buchanan in 1856, the slaveholders, realizing that the sceptre of dominion was departing from their grasp, began actively and generally to prepare for rebellion and the establishment of a great Southern slaveholding nation. Skillful use they made of the four years with their opportunities, furnished them by the imbecile they had put into the Presidential office.

A little more than a year ago, they opened the civil war for a slave empire, in the bombardment of Sumter. You know how the cannon of South Carolina then and there sounded the death-knell of slavery; how it roused the whole nation to such a sense of nationality and patriotism as had been hitherto all unknown. At the very time the President's proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand volunteers was issued, I started on my return to Kansas, after a winter's labor in the East in behalf of the thousands left destitute by the famine of 1861. From New York to the Mississippi river, I passed directly through the most sublime uprising of a nation against a great and mighty oppression this age has ever witnessed. At New York, I saw the people compel the craven *Herald*, *News*, *Day Book*, and *Journal of Commerce* to profess a loyalty they were incapable of feeling. At every station where the crowded cars stopped, the people were gathered, and some one was called upon to address them. At Chicago the enthusiasm was at white heat. I spent Sunday there, and that young giant of the West was turned into a military camp on that day. Everywhere the question was asked, what shall be done with slavery, the cause of this war? And everywhere the answer came from the people's heart and soul, "Destroy the accursed thing!" I reached Kansas, and found there a people, crushed under poverty and want, organizing ten regiments, and sending ten thousand men into the field for the express and openly avowed purpose of fighting against slavery and for a *free* fatherland. From Centralia, my Kansas home, out of a population of three hundred, twenty young men went into the army as crusaders in the holy cause of freedom. Some of our Kansas troops have been in almost every battle in Missouri, and with the great South-Western army in all the splendid achievements that army has wrought. Sometimes we have been under the command of pro-slavery proud, pro-slavery men, like Sturgis and Denver; but the aim of the soldiers enlisted in Kansas has been, and still is, to destroy slavery. The effects of this feeling have been more marked in Kansas than elsewhere, because we have been trained by the border ruffians and the worse United States officials, for years, to a realizing sense of the character of American slavery. Facts show the wonderful progress of the Abolition doctrines in Kansas. The full average of the American prejudice against the negro race went to Kansas with nearly all the settlers who emigrated thither. Nay, the feeling was naturally stronger there than in most new communities, and for obvious reasons. We bordered on Missouri, and received all, or nearly all, our merchandise and accessions over great highways passing directly through Missouri. East and south of us were Slave States; west and north of us an unoccupied wilderness; yet, such have been the saving effects of border ruffianism in Kansas, that the whole State has been thrown open to the colored refugees from Arkansas and Missouri, who have escaped by thousands from those States, and now reside among us, scattered through the whole State as hired help among the farmers. They are well treated, and work as well and as faithfully as any other help that we can hire. The slave-hunter dares not show his face openly in the State of Kansas. The Centralia College, of which I had charge last winter, and of which I expect again to have charge, on my return, is open to colored children on the same terms as it is to white children. The pulpit which I there occupy is open to any colored speaker who can stand therein, and speak to the edification of the people, just as freely as it is to me.

But why should I speak of Kansas or the West, in connection with this war, and not rather of the *whole* country? Thank God for the lesson which this year has taught us, that we are a people of one great nation, and that the animating idea and inspiration of our nation are to be, impartial justice and universal liberty. The East has shown just as great a heroism and as earnest a loyalty as the West. The people have willed and determined the overthrow of slavery; and in this case, most assuredly, the voice of the people is the voice of God. Our rulers and many of our generals may lack faith, and walk or stumble rather by a most short-sighted statesmanship. But the people are being born again,—translated from the kingdom of pro-slavery darkness into the marvellous light of a *genuine* democracy. The Commissioners sent by the Illinois Convention to take the vote of the Illinois regiments on the monstrous pro-slavery Constitution, framed for that State last summer, find even the regiments raised in Egypt; almost to a man, against the infernal injustice which would outlaw the colored man in Illinois. Those men have learned, through this war, what slavery is, and by that knowledge you will find them henceforth going forward. The proclamation of Fremont was received by the people with an enthusiastic approval, and if it had been endorsed and applied by the Government, would have ended slavery and the rebellion together, ere this. The policy of Hunter is obviously the policy of the people. Governor Stanly, by common consent, as well as by the approval of the *Herald* and the *Courier*, stands forth as the enemy of freedom, and consequently the enemy of his country.

Let us see now what is already established by the last year's experience.

1. The *fidelity* and *capacity* of our colored fellow-citizens at the South. We have been told by the advocates of slavery that the negro is naturally inefficient and untrustworthy. The past year has shown to the world the entire maliciousness and falsehood of this constantly reiterated charge. Fremont, Montgomery, Blunt, Lane, Burnside, Banks, Hunter and all others who have sought information from the only genuine loyalists of the South, the colored people, have always found them true-hearted and efficient allies. Burnside would have been wrecked on the coast of North Carolina, but for the services of a slave who came to him with an accurate knowledge of the passages in the harbor, and the distribution of all the rebel forces on the main land. He offered his services to our General, who had the good sense to accept his offer. And now that pilot, erewhile a slave, but now by the act of General Burnside a freeman, is the friend and companion of the noble son of Rhode Island, who declares in the full gratitude of his great heart, that so long as he himself has a crust of bread, this colored brother shall have the half of it. Yet, if the local laws of North Carolina are to be enforced by Gov. Stanly, as he declares must be done, that companion of General Burnside, who led our forces to the splendid victories they gained, must be given up to the rebel from whom he escaped, when the miserable sneak goes through the pitiful form of taking the oath of allegiance. One of the most daring and important feats of this whole war was performed by the slaves who took the Planter from the shelter of the guns of Sumter and Moultrie, and delivered her to the commander of our fleet,—an act for which Congress has conferred upon them half the worth of the rich prize so adroitly wrested from the grasp of the Charleston rebels. Banks was saved from a surprise, by the overwhelming onslaught of Jackson's army,—a surprise which must have proved fatal,—by the timely warning of the faithful slaves, who rushed into his camp with news of Jackson's rapid approach in season to save his army from destruction. Fremont and other commanders have trusted the slaves, and by so doing have been kept informed of the movements of the enemy. The surprise at Pittsburg Landing, which came so near proving fatal to our heroic South-western army, would have been impossible but for the insane policy of the commander of that department, in forbidding our friends to come within the lines. The inglorious blunder of McClellan, in permitting the escape of the rebel army from Manassas, is owing to the same insane policy of shutting our friends out of our camp. How was it that Napoleon, in all his wars, was always enabled to discover all the movements of his enemies? He fought as the representative of the people against absolute despotism. Such at least was the accepted opinion in all his wars, except the invasion of Hayti and Spain. Hence the people everywhere flocked to his camp with full and accurate intelligence of the movements of his enemies. Would n't it have been a "*masterly* strategy" if he had pursued the policy of some of our Generals, by driving them ignominiously from his lines? I speak intelligently, when I say that the colored people of the free and loyal States would have furnished as many and as brave soldiers, in proportion to their numbers, for this war, as we have done, if they had been permitted to enlist and fight by the Government. You have the testimony of Mr. Vincent Colyer, whom Governor Stanly has driven from his fifteen hundred colored pupils at Newbern; and you have the testimony of all the other teachers and missionaries sent to Fortress Monroe and Port Royal and Beaufort and other places, to look after and help the freed colored people gathered at those points,—testimony which unequivocally establishes the fact that these slaves long to be free, that they are glad to work, and are docile, grateful and faithful. West India Emancipation was to be followed by fire and sword, conflagration and ruin. So the slaveholders and their allies prophesied. The experience of more than twenty years has proved the falsehood of their predictions, and shown that the negro has just as much human nature as the white man.

2. The Power of Freedom.

This war is demonstrating to the world again the lesson or truth so often proved in the past, that freedom is one cause of invincible strength, while slavery is inevitable weakness and defeat. The Netherlands, set free and raised to newness of life by the Gospel, the printers' type and a world-wide commerce, ranged under the banner of the great William of Orange, hurled themselves against the mighty power that Charles V. had established on absolute despotism; and after a struggle of such heroism as the ages have rarely witnessed, they shattered that colossal monarchy, and established the Dutch Republic, as the precursor and promise of Europe's ultimate freedom. The despised Puritans of England, at all times a small minority of the people, wrought out a heroic revolution, which dethroned the Stuarts, and established a constitutional government, through which truth and justice have made steady progress for nearly two centuries. And this great work they accomplished because Cromwell, Hampden, Pym, Milton, Bunyan and others, the leaders of that party, were inspired and made invincible by the genuine love of freedom. So, in the Revolution, Adams, Washington, Jefferson, Green, Henry, Franklin, Jay, and their compatriots, resolved to be free, were "invincible against any force Great Britain could send to subjugate them." We have been called "mudsills," and taunted with cowardice by the slaveholders for thirty years. They have assumed to themselves the heroism and honors of chivalry. They have told us that the South could conquer the North in every battle, with odds as five to one against them. Well, they have tried it, and the result is seen to be, that the soldiers of freedom are to-day, as of old, the invincible Ironsides, before whose stalwart blows the forces of the Slave Power go down in hopeless and irretrievable rout. And Freedom has shown not only the might of her soldiers, but the magnitude of her resources While the South, cursed with slavery, has sunk into hopeless bankruptcy, in this one short year; the North and West, blessed with freedom, have developed new resources, and moved on calmly with all their gigantic industries ready to furnish men and money, good over the world to any amount necessary to destroy this rebellion, and bless the dear Fatherland with universal freedom. Five hundred thousand men are fighting for freedom—at least are doing this as far as the government will permit. To wives, parents, children, brothers, sisters and friends, left behind, they weekly freight the mail with a precious tonnage of letters, filled with love and patriotism, and abhorrence of slavery. And these precious gospel leaves, scattered far and wide over our whole country, will yet be sure to bear with them to the people's heart the power of God unto the salvation of the American nation.

3. The certain execution of God's law against Wrong.

The law of God denounces the severest retributions against the sin of oppression. We have seen American slavery, well called "the sum of all villanies," made the corner-stone of the Southern policy, ruling the Federal Government, controlling the American pulpit, and exercising authority over the commerce of the land. The statement of Abolitionists, unheeded by the nation for thirty years, that slavery led to the worst barbarism and licentiousness that ever cursed the earth, has been so demonstrated the past year, that all men are compelled to see it. Garrison and Phillips have never painted the horrors of slavery, and its savage and immoral influences, in colors so vivid as this year's experience has done. Words are inadequate to the expression of the truth here. I was made a radical Abolitionist twenty years ago by the moral degradation which I saw to be the result of slavery in Kentucky, where I was at that time. It turns men into fiends, and sinks humanity to the lowest depths of vice and cruelty that men can reach. How our wounded soldiers have received treatment at the hands of the rebel soldiers, that would have disgraced the original savages of the continent! And what a terrible judgment has been meted out this year to the South! Desolation, famine and bankruptcy have fallen upon the cities and towns of the rebel States. When I came through Missouri, a few weeks since, I was profoundly impressed with the evidence of ruin that rose before me on the whole line from the Missouri to the Mississippi. So it is with the whole land cursed with the rule of the rebel desperadoes. St. Joseph, Hannibal, Kansas City, Richmond, Charleston, Mobile, Memphis, New Orleans, have been desolated. God's law has executed itself in a wonderful way. The North has compromised and supported slavery. The great commercial houses of the North engaged in Southern trade, and for the profits of that trade upholding extreme pro-slavery doctrines, have been plunged into hopeless bankruptcy. The churches and clergymen who have earned an unenviable notoriety by persecuting Abolitionists, now find themselves covered with shame and confusion of face. And the whole North is burdened with debt and taxation, and filled with sorrow at the terrible bereavements which this war has brought home to every generous heart. And what is all this but a renewal of God's command made to us, the people, with all the emphasis of Sinai, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof"—"Undo the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free"?

Oh, my beloved country! so richly dowered by the hopes and sympathies and prayers of the good and the true all over the world! God grant that thou mayest know in this thy trial-day "the things that make for thy peace"!

WATERLOO YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

ROCHESTER, (N. Y.,) June 5, 1862.

W. L. GARRISON:

My Friend,—I am just home from the Fourteenth Yearly Meeting at Waterloo, which has been well attended, successful, and full of interest.

On Friday morning, May 30th, a goodly number gathered in the grassy yard of the Friends' meeting-house at Junius—one of those plain structures, void of all "worldly vanity" in the shape of architectural ornament, in which Quakers met for worship in years fast going by. Green fields and blooming orchards were on every side, and the shrill scream of the locomotive heard in the distance, told of the rush and whirl of the world of action.

Philip D. Moore called the meeting to order, and a Committee soon nominated P. D. Moore for Chairman, G. B. Stebbins and Phebe B. Deane for Secretaries, and Stephen Shear as Treasurer.

A Business Committee to prepare resolves and plan the conduct of the meeting was chosen: C. D B. Mills, Frederick Douglass, Catharine A. T. Stebbins, Seymour Reed, Lucy N. Coleman, Rhoda DeGarmo, Israel Fisk.

After speaking by different persons, an hour's adjournment gave time for a pic-nic beneath the trees in the yard; and at the opening of the afternoon session, resolves were reported from the Committee, and at once taken up for examination, after the reading of several interesting letters from absent friends of the Meeting.

The rebellion, in its relation to slavery, and its bearings on the character and condition of the people, occupied a large portion of the first two days. A wish was expressed to take up other topics, but this was so absorbing, so wide in its range, so fills the hour, that it seemed most near and vital of all, and the utterances on its moral bearing and its golden opening for Freedom were of high value and signal interest.

There seemed a desire, unanimous and earnest, that slavery should die; a feeling that it was the deadly foe to peace and safety. The wording of some resolutions called out some differences of opinion as to the amount of blame resting on people or Government, and the mode of condemning or criticising; but the resolve passed heartily, and with very little expression of dissent.

The danger of departure from Divine laws—the primal gospel in the soul—the glory of moral courage to decree the doom of slavery—the need of acting in the light of principles, were the lessons of the discussions. The shame and guilt of our national prejudice against the black man, and the right of all, irrespective of color, to equal treatment, were brought up forcibly and eloquently.

A Memorial to Congress in behalf of the abolition of slavery was adopted with great unity of feeling.

C. D. B. Mills, Wm. Denton, F. Douglass, E. Andrews, George Pryor, Benjamin Fish, P. D. Moore, Lucy N. Coleman, G. B. Stebbins, J. H. W. Toohey, E. Wheeler and others, spoke, and the audience gave excellent attention.

Each session brought an increase of numbers, and on Sunday the floor, galleries, stairs, all available space, were filled. A rain kept away the crowd who usually fill the yard, and hear as they best can through open windows.

The practice of past years, of leaving each speaker on the closing day to take up such subject as he might choose, unrestrained by any order of business, was adhered to.

A paper on Physical Education was read by Mrs. Choate, of Auburn; several excellent addresses on religious reform, spiritual culture and growth, were heard with well-sustained interest. Frederick Douglass spoke at the close, briefly but eloquently, on "What shall we do with the black man?" After which the meeting ended with singing the "John Brown Song."

A report of several admirable speeches would be valuable. I send an abstract of the resolves and memorial herewith, and, at the request of the Meeting, make this informal sketch, rather than a regular and formal abstract of its doings.

Yours truly, G. B. STEBBINS.

N. B. The next Meeting will open on Friday, June 5, 1863. G. B. S.

RESOLUTIONS,

Adopted at the Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress, at Junius, N. Y.

1. Resolved, That the principles which, as Friends of Progress, we inscribe on our banner,—the peerless worth, transcendent majesty, and vital, all-sovereign authority of the truths of the Soul, the laws of Reason, the ordinances of Verity and Justice, the requirements of Virtue, the superlative claims of Character,—far enough from being cold, lifeless, or barren abstractions, recondite and well-nigh inaccessible, buried away in abysses of dim and dubious speculation, are warm and living realities, all fruitful, radiant with light, patent to the earliest thought of man, more evident and certain than all else beside, the primal scripture, oldest and completest bible, lamp for the feet through all the labyrinths of time, succor and solace to the soul, talisman of accomplishment, and standard evermore of all effective doing and success.

2. Resolved, That these truths, always pertinent and apposite, always full of vital bearings, and charged with most benign guidance and blessing for men under whatever circumstances and in every age, are especially pertinent and vital and pregnant here and now, in the circumstances of this hour, and the exigencies upon which our nation is to-day cast, and require, therefore, to be proclaimed and urged home upon the attention of the people with an emphasis, directness, and force of application correspondent to the formidable and felt perils of the position.

3. Resolved, That the importance of these truths, the fatally ruinous consequence, amid whatever attention to other matters, of their neglect or denial, has very signal and painfully near illustration in the attitude of our nation at this hour—a nation and government murderously assailed of rebellion, involved in perils the most direct and fearful, compelled to struggle at immense expenditure of blood and treasure for the maintenance of its existence, held day after day and month after month on the very brink of ruin, yet undaring to speak itself, delivered and free, by uttering the word *Liberty*, held spell-bound and prostrate by incantation of parchment Constitution and statute Enactment, as before all truth, all justice, and even the national life itself, juggle even in the midst of its rebellion and fierce exterminating onslaught, of supposed inviolate rights of slavery.

4. Resolved, That while we hail more than willingly whatever bright and hopeful signs the time affords—evidence of increasing sobriety on the part of considerable numbers up and down through the land—awakened attention, under the recent startling events in our history, to the inherent nature of slavery—growing recognition of its essential character as crime and atrocity—conviction that it must and determination that it shall at any hazard be extinguished—indications of disposition of manly and humane attitude on the part of some of the commanding Generals in their relation to the negro, beneficent act of emancipation by the General Government throughout the Federal District—and remaining hopeful still that, through the events of this terrible war, liberty for the slave shall yet be wrung from this unwilling nation, we yet remember that our relations are primarily and most of all to simple Truth and Justice; that never, in the sphere of human conduct, are we to sit supinely waiting what the providential issues may bring; and so we still bear our testimony for the slave, and call upon this nation and government, now as never before responsible for slavery, now as never before imperilled and involved by its continuance, instantly to wipe out the guilty curse, to wash its hands of the blood of the crushed millions, and penitently bid them, in God's name, be free.

5. Resolved, That for a government to affiliate with oppression, to extend recognition, fellowship and protection to slavery, is at the outset to make itself the accomplice of treason, partner with rebellion,—to break up and annihilate all true grounds of distinction between loyalty and justice and their opposites,—to put itself exposed perpetually to factional revolt like the present, wide-spread and violent, and tie its hands forever, while in that attitude, against the possibility of effectual resistance and repression.

6. Resolved, That the attempts still widely and in official quarters avowed and persisted in, to re-establish on its old basis the Union,—basis of fellowship and guarantee to slavery,—is the attempt to repeat, and, under the circumstances, aggravating ten-fold its infatuation and its guilt the old mistake, and intrinsically wrong, and a crime as it is pronounced by late events in our history, to be from this time forward an utter fatuity; the only Union henceforth possible, or even desirable, or even worthy of toleration, the Union of freemen for the maintenance of justice and freedom.

7. Resolved, That with indignation and shame we witness the renewal and prosecution, with unwonted rigor, of slave-hunting in the midst of the Federal Capital; and, mortifying and humiliating as is the admission, we are yet compelled to believe that even now the government and nation have not suffered enough at the hands of the rebellion to be divorced and emancipated from its terrible idolatry of slavery, and insane and criminal hope of still propitiating the monster, or at least regaining its indulgence and tolerant favor.

8. Resolved, That we hail the proclamation of David Hunter, declaring emancipation to the slaves throughout the limits of his military district, with great gratulation and joy,—a proclamation worthy to be made, honorable to his judgment as a commander, to his qualities of heart as a man; and we can only here testify our sorrow and indignation, that the executive head of the nation should show himself so signally unfaithful to humanity, so lacking in just comprehension of the crisis, so subject to the influence of detestable border State dictation, as to interpose with his disavowal, and rescind the operation of this benign proclamation.

9. Resolved, That in the desolating war now raging in our country, we recognize a just retribution, visited on the people as the sure and awful result of their oppression of a race subjugated by our fathers, and attemptedly made menial not only by governmental statutes, but by social restrictions fed and nourished by unnatural teachings that the negro is not an equal man and brother, alike eligible to place and position, not only by and for himself, but *with* and *for* us.

10. Resolved, That the time has gone by for a people professing progress to set bounds which any of the human family are forbidden to pass, because of the color of the skin, the texture of the hair, or the form of the features; and that it becomes the emphatic duty of every reformer who has learned the first letter in the alphabet of justice, to insist upon the entire emancipation of this oppressed people from all invidious restrictions, either social, ecclesiastical or political.

MEMORIAL.

To the Congress of the United States:

The "Friends of Human Progress," assembled in their yearly meeting, at Junius, near Waterloo, Seneca county, New York, in view of the unhappy condition of our country, scourged by a terrible civil war, respectfully and earnestly offer their views and deliberate judgment as to the cause of this war, and the means whereby it may and ought to be brought to a close.

SLAVERY IS ITS CAUSE. This nation is but illustrating anew the lesson that history teaches, that Slavery is always the element of danger in the State;—and this in the nature of things, since permanent Peace, Union and Order are impossible, save through wise obedience to those Divine Laws of Justice, Freedom and Fraternity, which Slavery repudiates.

Slaveholders plotted this rebellion; slaveholders opened this war, and lead in its conduct with desperate malignity. By an evil necessity, inherent in the system they uphold, *it must either rule or ruin*. Hence this foul rebellion.

Our sons and brothers and loved ones have gone forth freely in our country's defence, and we are grieved and heart-sick to see them the victims and sufferers in the guilty waste of precious life, and the gratuitous exposure to exhausting labors and fatigues, results of a weak tenderness towards Slavery in the conduct of this war on the part of the Government.

It is shameful that a wicked prejudice, created and fostered by Slavery,—and which rebel slaveholders now rejoice to find their ally,—prevents the acceptance of the proffered aid of the negro, and flings all the burthen and peril of the war on the Northern soldier. It is folly without parallel to refuse the help of the *only friends* the Government has in large portions of the South. It is base ingratitude to drive back those friends into cruel hands.

In presence of national law, and of the necessities of war, *rebels have no rights*. The first gun fired against Fort Sumter shattered the fetters from the limbs of every slave in the rebel States, under the same principle by which that base act made all its perpetrators and abettors outlaws.

No legal or constitutional barrier stands in the way. As to the few loyal slave-owners in the Border States, if they be *truly* loyal, they will share any sacrifice to which the ending of slavery may subject them, as their ready offering for their country's safety,—especially when, in the light of a few years of freedom, the sacrifice will be found more seeming than real, and when Government stands ready to make them such compensation as may be its share of indemnity for a common complicity with the slave system.

Under the war-power there is ample authority for the total ending of Slavery,—so necessary to the safety, even the very existence of our nation.

We wish peace, but it is only possible with freedom, broad and impartial *as the right of all, irrespective of race.*

We wish safety and a high future for our country, imperilled by the wickedness it has nursed and nurtured in its midst.

We therefore ask that, in this crisis, you will use your abundant powers to *decree the emancipation of every slave*, with a high faith that Divine Wisdom has so ordered, that it is always safe to do right.

In behalf of the meeting as its earnest and unanimous expression,

PHILIP D. MOORE, *Chairman.*

G. B. STEBBINS, PHEBE B. DEAN, } *Secretaries.*

SPIRITUAL STRENGTH AND SPIRITUAL UNION.

The following, which is the conclusion of an article in A. J. Davis's *Herald of Progress*, June 7, contains a most important truth, however mixed with an error or two of circumstance.—C. K. W.

A little time may be profitably spent in considering the philosophy of feeding. George B. Cheever, for example: What supplies the spiritual strength of that man? Do you think it is Moses, off of whom he doubtless believes himself to be dining every day? Not at all. In that respect he is as much mistaken, probably, as you are. I know, dine with him and he will serve you up, Moses raw, Moses roasted, Moses boiled, and Moses broiled; and for supper he will but change the order of the dishes: but his spiritual strength is not from thence. That man is a hunter of the wild beasts which infest the pleasant places of men, and his spiritual bread is the humanity which points his weapon. It is the living inspiration of a present need which is his daily bread for daily work. The shape of the loaf is nothing. Christmas-cake, moulded by bakers' art into the form of Santa-Claus, is still cake, and is just as grateful to the urchin's stomach and helpful to his growth as in another form. What matter though Cheever bake his in the form of all the Patriarchs? It is not the form of the gingerbread, but the *fact* that nourishes. Those who live on the mere form of the ancient plum-cake do not grow.

Then again, (with how many others) he supposes himself to belong to the Presbyterian Church—to a church of mere beliefs and forms, a church external. What efficiency there is in him, or in any other living soul, is from membership with the church *internal* and universal—the church of the first-born whose names are written in heaven, and the church of the *last born*, whose deeds upon the earth express their love of man. It is a demonstrable law of the soul, that sincerity of love with respect to any noble purpose under the sun conjoins all who are in the same love. Said Jesus, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, (that is to say, in the love of my purpose,) there am I in the midst." But Jesus did not found the Presbyterian Church, nor did he furnish the material out of which John Calvin constructed it. He simply revealed the church that is—the church whose foundation is human nature, whose ordinances are the laws of the soul. To this church all true men are indebted for their strength in the truth: and it will be blessed for them when they become conscious of the fact. When men come to fraternize through their reason as well as through their instincts; when the bond of brotherhood is strong from without as well as within, encircling the whole manhood, then will be realized the church triumphant.

A recognition of this fact of the omnipotent and invisible Church as the source of all human greatness is among the pregnant lessons of the day. The common magnetism of a great and noble purpose: mark how it unites! Where, for example, were the "two or three" even, to meet with William Lloyd Garrison as Jesus at the beginning? Every man-founded Church rejected him. Himself a Calvinist, he but proposed the peaceful measures openly professed by the Quakers, and *that* church "forsook him and fled." To all external seeming, the man was alone. For the emergency, the visible Church in all its forms was powerless for good, mighty for evil. There was no help for it; the very first thing for the man to do was to leap its barriers for that broadest Church whose base is the common humanity, whose power is inspiration, and whose apostles are ideas. In this Church, George B. Cheever and William Lloyd Garrison are brothers. Here, inspired by a common purpose, they worship at a common altar, doing manful work for a common cause. Here, and nowhere else on earth or in heaven, can these two commune together with Jesus. Outside of the sacred halo of this divinest purpose, love to man, these men were aliens and strangers. Seen only from Calvin's platform, Garrison was an infidel. In the great Church—the Church of the present, the past and the eternal future, of all the generations of men now upon the earth, he is an elder brother."

R. T. H.